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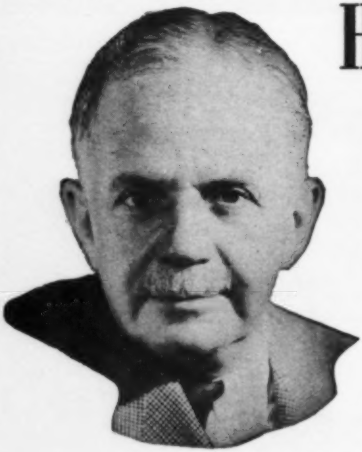

How Far the Promised Land?

By WALTER WHITE

Foreword by

Ralph J. Bunche

". . . An enormously encouraging account of progress toward equal rights for Negroes. . . ."—*The New Yorker*

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THE CRISIS

Founded 1910
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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy
Editorial Advisory Board: Lewis S. Gannett, Arthur B. Spingarn,
Sterling A. Brown, Carl Murphy

Vol. 63, No. 4 **Whole Number 532**

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April, 1956

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Hotel
Claremont

SACRAMENTO, *California, branch receives highest regional award for "carrying out the best NAACP program during the previous year." West Coast secretary-counsel presents the award plaque to Mrs. Alvernon Tripp, branch president.* SUPERINTENDENT *of schools Virgil T. Blossom of Little Rock, Arkansas, turns down a group of Negro applicants.* PARTICIPANTS *in a "Miss NAACP Contest" held by the Charleston, South Carolina, branch.*

How southern whites have managed to increase racial tensions in the Deep South

Desegregation and Racial Tensions[*]

By Roy Wilkins

IT IS a pleasure to greet again our members and friends in the Southeast region of the NAACP, and particularly those in South Carolina.

There were some signs last summer that the traditional Southern hospitality would no longer be extended to me as executive secretary of the NAACP. Federal Judge Ashton Williams took special pains to suggest from his bench that I should not be permitted to speak again in South Carolina.

But of course he did not mean that. Judge Williams believes, like all good Americans—and certainly all federal judges—in freedom of speech. We may not like what a man has to say, but we have not yet got to the place where we bar him from speaking, as long as he observes the proprieties.

Personally, I don't like what Senator James Eastland of Mississippi and Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina say in their speeches, but I would not bar either of them from speaking. In fact, it would not be exaggerating too much to say that the more such men speak, the more aid they render our cause.

Nevertheless, I *am* sorry, indeed, that my Columbia speech struck Judge Williams as such a poor one—even though it is a difficult task for an NAACP speaker to please a listener who thinks of the NAACP in the same way he thinks of the Ku Klux Klan. The NAACP, after all, has always proceeded according to law and has always obeyed the rulings of the courts, even when we thought those rulings were unfair. This is in conspicuous contrast to the

---

[*] *An address delivered by* ROY WILKINS, *executive secretary of the NAACP, before the Southeast Regional Convention of the NAACP meeting at Charleston, South Carolina, on February 24, 1956.*

Klan which, as everyone is aware, has made it own laws, put itself up as judge, and carried out its own punishments, while at the same time ignoring the U. S. Supreme Court and all the other courts.

In these respects, the Klan has a resemblance to some organizations recently formed in South Carolina and elsewhere in the South, but no resemblance to the NAACP. I could agree heartily with Judge Williams if he were to declare that South Carolina would benefit if all those organizations did not exist here.

For South Carolina and the South are faced with a problem requiring sober, honest, fair, and sincere consideration.

BASIC QUESTION

Here is the big, basic question for Southerners: Shall we obey the law as to our race relations, or shall we defy the law and insist that our 1856 philosophy be the pattern for 1956? Specifically, shall we comply with the Court's opinion on public schools?

On all sides we hear that tensions between the races have increased and that conditions have worsened.

I suggest that if this is true, the underlying bedrock cause is the refusal on the part of Southern whites to recognize the Negro as a citizen.

The millions of words that have been written and spoken on the Negro, the public schools, the Supreme Court, and the host of other items in the race relations picture have ignored completely this fundamental issue of status.

Consciously and subconsciously, Southern Whites have treated our people as wards, to be done with as they in their wisdom see fit. It comes as a great shock to them to have the highest court in the land hear, evaluate, and uphold the Negro's claims *as a citizen*.

In the southern scheme of things, Negroes were to do as they were told, regardless of their own desires, or any laws to the contrary. This is the "tradition" of which so much is now being made.

The result is that most white Southerners have come to believe, deeply, sincerely and completely, that they have a God-given right to control Negroes. They are bewildered, frustrated, angry, and defiant when this system is challenged.

Editor Thomas Waring, of the *News and Courier*, has complained to the world that the press, radio, television and national magazines are "against" the South, and that they refuse to give its spokesmen a hearing.

In its January issue, *Harper's Magazine* published an article by Mr. Waring which concerned itself principally with assertions that Negroes *as a race* are immoral, criminal, diseased and mentally retarded.

ANTIQUATED ARGUMENTS

These "arguments" are strikingly similar to those made in slavery debates more than a hundred years ago. In the light of what has happened to the Negro and the rest of the world since 1860, the Waring contentions, even if sincerely held by scores of thousands of persons, are nonetheless invalid. Because most people once thought the world flat did not make it a fact.

The Waring article, like so much of the talk out of the South, blandly brushes aside the clear responsibility of the South itself for the present "statistics" on Negroes. People who are held to a substandard economic level, barred almost completely from your textile industry, for example, cheated year after weary year as sharecroppers, paid a pittance as domestic servants, denied hospital care, and until five years ago barred from state medical schools—still barred in South Carolina—these people are supposed to be healthy, happy, thrifty, educated, well-housed, responsible, dedicated citizens.

For eighty years Negroes have gone to school in shacks, while whites had the best the government could afford; yet they are now supposed to be the scholastic equals of whites.

Why doesn't Editor Waring compare the Negro students in Boston or Hartford or Pittsburgh or Toledo or Minneapolis with the white students in Charleston or Columbia or Spartanburg or Memphis or Atlanta?

A two-legged man can always out-run a cripple; the point is, how would he do against other two-legged men?

But even if it had any validity, the Waring thesis would astound and disgust thoughtful people inside and outside the South. For they ask: What has all this to do with *equality as citizens under the law?*

And this is the question our opponents persistently refuse to discuss. Instead, they have chosen to chase down a hundred emotional and unrelated by-paths, some of them ridiculous in the extreme.

They have gone "hog wild and pig crazy" passing laws against the NAACP and desegregation. But on February 18, Attorney General Eugene Cook of Georgia admitted in a speech that most of the laws just passed by his legislature would be "stricken down in due course." The same holds true for what the South Carolina legislature is doing. Its members are merely exercising themselves.

The South Carolina state legislature, for example, in February, called upon the Attorney General of the United States to place the NAACP on his subversive list. Well, if the NAACP were truly a Communist-front organization we would have been on the list long ago. The Communist charge against us is a feeble lie being used throughout the South to excite the gullible and the ignorant.

ASSAULT ON NAACP

The assault upon the NAACP, of course, is only one of the methods being employed to intimidate the Negro population, create tension and by-pass the basic issue.

There are the White Citizens Councils. More than a year ago the Montgomery *Advertiser* called them "manicured Ku Klux Klans" and it is still a good description.

The Councils constitute a conspiracy to defy the Supreme Court's school ruling and maintain white supremacy. Although they repeat over and over that they do not sanction violence, their public and private statements, mass meetings, and hate literature have been creating the climate in which violence has occurred. The hoodlums have been given the green light.

The murders in Mississippi, the bombings in Montgomery, Alabama, the violence directed at Rev. M. DeLaine, the gunshots into the home of Rev. M. Hinton, our state president, in Columbia, and the disgraceful rioting at the University of Alabama, may all be traced directly to the hysterical atmosphere whipped up by the Citizens Councils and their spokesmen.

United States Senators cannot go about the country preaching lawless defiance of courts and constitutional government without sharing the responsibility for the violence that may ensue.

Governors of states who preach nullification by means of the fancy word, "interposition," are also encouraging more direct violation of law and personal rights.

At the University of Alabama under pitiful hypnosis of the whiteness cult, 1,000 young white men demonstrated their superiority over Negroes by throwing eggs and rocks at one lone Negro girl.

In admiration for this 1,000-to-1 battle, a group of men in Lake City, S. C., is reported to have sent a case of eggs to the University.

This, then, is what we are offered as proper and credible debate of a constitutional question; this is the type of mentality for which Editor Waring seeks a hearing in the forums of the rest of the nation.

VIOLENCE ENCOURAGED

But the encouragement of violence by innuendo—Senator Eastland, addressing White Councils at Montgomery, Alabama, following the University riot, said: "I know you people of Alabama are not going to let the NAACP take over your schools"—is not the only sin of the Councils.

For cowardly and reprehensible economic pressures are the primary weapon of this organization. Sharecroppers, day laborers, home and farm owners, small retail business men and even domestic servants have been "squeezed" if they signed a petition or otherwise spoke up for their rights.

To appreciate the scope of the cowardice, one must remember that none of the victims threatens the power structure of the South. Negroes own no great industries, publish no daily papers, sit in no legislatures, have only a fingernail hold in financial circles, are not sheriffs, sit on no court benches, and hold only a few scattered and minor political offices. Their industrial employment is limited to unskilled categories.

What threat do they pose? Are these Citizen Council members, these industrial executives, bankers, educators, editors, ministers of the gospel and other respectable white community leaders any safer or happier because some Negro family is made to face sudden disaster? Does it make a textile executive more secure to know that a Negro widow with four children over in Clarendon county is thrown off the land and has to beg bread and milk for the "sin" of assuming she is a human being?

Is this the thinking, are these the acts, which Editor Waring claims should be "understood" by the North?

PROBLEM OF SOUTH

Probably nothing illustrates the problem of the South so well as the Montgomery bus protest. And Montgomery city officials, all of whom belong to the White Citizens Councils, have met the situation in the customary southern manner. The police state has come out in the open at Montgomery. The grand jury has indicted 115 persons under a state anti-boycott law. This is the Soviet communism method. Here we have the police knocking on doors and taking men away. Here we have mass arrests. Here we have a grand jury delivering a general lecture on observance of the segregation line. Precisely like the Communists. Its report said:

"Segregation laws and the NAACP attack on segregation are the primary cause of the unrest and increasing tension between whites and Negroes in Montgomery. In this state we are committed to segregation by custom and by law; we intend to maintain it.

"The settlement of differences over school attendance, public transportation and other public facilities must be made within those laws which reflect our way of life."

What the grand jury said, my friends, is: Here in Montgomery we don't care a hoot about any law except *our* law; don't get any notions about the Supreme Court or the Constitution, or the United States; this is Montgomery, Alabama, and this is what we say black people must do—or else. So 115 people, including practically all the leading ministers among Negroes, are subject to fines and jail sentences.

UNDERSTANDING NEGROES

Montgomery whites claim not to be able to understand "their" Negroes. Well, I'll be glad to explain. "Their" Negroes are sick and tired of segregation, of the insults and mistreatment and daily humiliations. It is that simple. Their cups have run over.

The grand jury to the contrary, there was no "outside interference" at Montgomery. Negro ministers there took the lead and guided their flocks toward dignity. The entire nation has been inspired by their quiet Christian courage.

If these men of God go to jail there is a good chance that thousands over the country will follow them to similar jails for similar "crimes."

The time has come for freedom. We have been patient—God knows!—but the time is here. Who can say with truth that we want to go too fast? Ninety years is a long time to wait—no man who waits that long is going too fast.

Certainly, as far as education is concerned, there has been ample warning of the changes to be expected. A Maryland court in 1935 ordered a Negro student admitted to the law school of the University of Maryland. In 1938 the United States Supreme Court put the handwriting on the wall with its decision in the Gaines case at the University of Missouri. Now, twenty years from the Maryland signal and seventeen years from the Missouri notice, they tell us we are trying to "force" something "overnight."

Moreover, up to the present, every

(*Continued on page* 254)

PROMINENT *Boston, Mass., lawyer, Herbert E. Tucker, Jr., gives his personal check for* $500 *for his NAACP Life Membership to Kivie Kaplan (center), national co-chairman of the NAACP Life Membership Committee. Branch president Col. Larkland Hewitt looks on.*

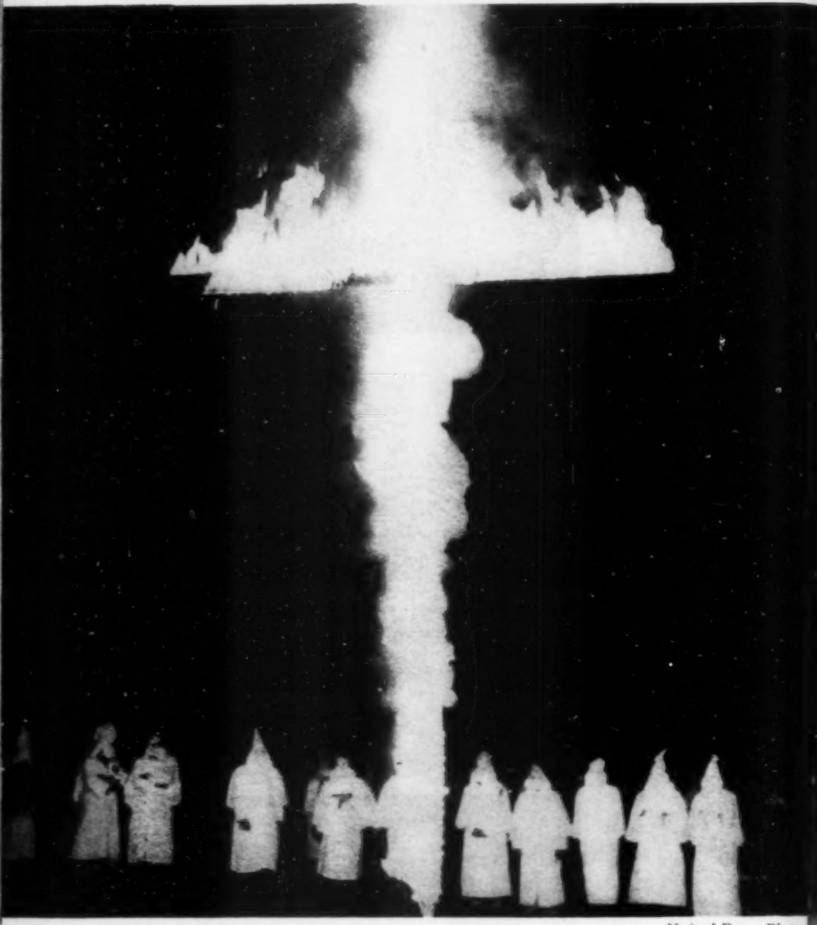
SOME *of the officers and committee members of the Clarksville' Tenn., and Montgomery county branch of the NAACP.*

REV. ROBERT S. GRAETZ *addresses a mass meeting of the Columbus, Ohio, branch. More than 1,200 people attended and* $2,128.38 *was collected to aid the Montgomery, Ala., bus victims.*

TWO OFFICIALS (*national executive secretary Carl Moultrie, center, and grand basileus Herbert E. Tucker, Jr.) present NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins $500 for Life Membership of the Boston, Mass., chapter of the fraternity.*

CARL JOHNSON, *president Kansas City, Mo., branch gives first prize to Mrs. Aline Jefferson at annual branch tea for reporting the largest amount of money.*

LIONEL ALDRICH *of the Great Neck, L. I., branch receives $500 Life Membership check from Robert Benjamin, also a member of the local branch.*



United Press Photo

KU KLUX KLAN *burns a fiery cross at Maryville, Tennessee. Twelve hooded members of the KKK stand watching a fiery cross burn as they hold cross-burning ceremony. The men, members of the Maryville-Alcoa Klavern of the Ku Klux Klan, were protesting desegregation policies in the South. It was the first time they had held a cross-burning ceremony in several years. About* 100 *persons watched the ceremony and listened to speeches attacking desegregation as being "Communist-inspired."*

This author says there are a plethora of engineering and scientific jobs open to Negro women

Scientific Job Opportunities*

By Lester Banks

I HAVE four representative technical magazines. Let's look at the advertisement sections of any of them. The situation is strikingly clear. American industry is desperately short of trained technicians, chemists, engineers, and physicists. It is estimated that American industry needs at least 50,000 graduate engineers to enter the engineering field every year. At present only 17,000 individuals are graduating from technical schools. This means that a deficiency of 33,000 positions is being added to the already existing shortage. Some interesting stories have arisen due to this situation.

As you know, industry sends scientific and engineering interview teams to interview prospective graduates for job opportunities with certain companies. An acquaintance of mine, who is a mechanical engineer, said that he was interviewed by representatives from several companies. All made the job opportunities with their respective companies very inviting. One company actually flew him from New York City to Phoenix, Arizona, put him up in one of the luxury hotels there, and covered all other expenses that he incurred for a week. During this period he was allowed to wander leisurely throughout the company and peruse the facilities, working conditions, and personnel. While most companies do not offer such gracious inducements, it is standard practice for companies to pay all travelling expenses and the freight charges on household

LESTER BANKS *does research physics for an aircraft firm in Los Angeles, California. He is a graduate of Howard University and the University of Chicago.*

---

* Speech delivered to the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority Career Conference held at the University of Southern California on May 21, 1955.

goods for new hires when a person is hired outside the territory of the company.

During the Korean War. I was stationed at Randolph Field, Texas. All discharges who had experience in radar or electronics were informed that the U. S. Employment Service down town in San Antonio had jobs waiting for them.

The current shortage of scientists and engineers has become serious, indeed. We all know that a country's defense to a large degree depends on its technically trained people. Without radar, guided missles, and superior aircraft and nuclear weapons, our defense forces would be worthless, All these devices were conceived in the heads of scientists and engineers. All these modern weapons mean that America is perhaps the strongest nation in the world. Although this talk is primarily concerned with job opportunities in industry, I do not believe this talk would be complete without mention of the military.

RECENT ADVANCES

Getting back to the recent advances in military science—scientists, engineers, and our government leaders know that we must continue to maintain our position in the world by producing scientific devices that will serve to thwart any aggressive intentions of potential enemies. This can only be done by turning out more technical graduates from our schools.

Industry has sought to fill this void due to the shortage of scientists and engineers by several methods. Minorities that once were virtually excluded from research and development jobs now find that the barriers have all but disappeared. I do not believe that any major company today will deny employment to a member of a minority group. They simply can not afford to do it. The only qualification today is technical ability. Industry has offered very fabulous research fellowships for students to pursure graduate work toward advance degrees. I was on the Master of Science degree program at the company where I am presently employed. The company paid my tuition and bought my books and also took care of incidental expenses. During this period I worked part-time in the laboratories during the school year and full-time during the summer months. There is even a Ph.D. program set up at this company for engineers and scientists. My present employer is not unique in this endeavor. General Electric has had a similar program in operation for the B.S. degrees for years. Lockhead Aircraft Company also began a program for the M.S. degree last year.

POTENTIAL ENGINEERS

Women offer a very great source of potential engineers and scientists. Why women have shunned research as careers is amazing. The financial rewards are great, working conditions are excellent, and security extremely good. A fair indication of the number of women entering the scientific professions can be derived by considering students graduating during 1951-1952. The following is a break down of degrees granted in physics according to sex.

BACHELOR OF SCIENCE

Men	*Women*
2141	106

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Men	*Women*
851	35

DOCTORATES

Men	*Women*
476	9

Only one in every thirteen chemists in industry is a woman. These figures show that women have not sought engineering and scientific vocations.

How does one go about entering the scientific and engineering fields? In the "Midwest Engineer Magazine," October, 1952, Lois Graham McDowell wrote an article entitled "Educating Women for Engineering." She listed four criteria for a potential engineer.

1. An aptitude for and preparation in mathematics.
2. An ability to visualize.
3. A knowledge of mechanical movements and physical principles.
4. A preference for scientific or mechanical work.

NECESSARY PREPARATION

Assuming one meets all these criteria, how does one actually go about preparing oneself formally? Just as there are many routes to Santa Monica, there are many routes toward an engineering career. A position requiring practically no training beyond the high school diploma is the "lab" technician or research assistant. Although one is limited in one's advancement without some formal training, I have personally known very keen individuals to advance to a semi-professional level. The armed forces have excellent electronics schools. The radar outfit that I served with during the Korean War contained about five WAF's, who had been sent to our outfit from Air Force technical schools. All were well qualified and probably could have obatined lucrative positions in industry as electronics technicians.

If one hopes to enter research and development on the professional level, a degree is, of course, essential. I would advise one to start preparing for a scientific career in high school by taking as much mathematics as one possibly can take, such as plane and solid geometry, Algebra I, and plane and spherical trigonometry. One can not stress the role of mathematics too strongly, for mathematics is the tool with which the scientist works.

I know that this is a very arduous program, but it can lead to a very pleasant and rewarding career. No one but an engineer or scientist can experience the thrill when one sees the products born in one's mind aiding mankind and know that these contributions will give one a measure of immortality and know that one has pushed civilization a little further ahead.

* * *

THE COLUMBUS, OHIO, GIRL FRIENDS, *one of* 21 *chapters of the national organization, with units in* 12 *states and the District of Columbia, started an NAACP Life Membership in February,* 1956, *when they paid* $250 *of their* $500. *They thus join a group of organizations in Columbus which have recently started NAACP Life Memberships, among which are the Delta Dekkers, the Cavaliers, and the Union Grove Baptist church.* SIXTY-ONE *persons from* 19 *Ohio NAACP branches met in Columbus, on February* 4, *at the call of Mrs. May S. Durham to discuss housing problems in Ohio.* MEMBERS *of the Waldorf Club, a social-civic organization of Savannah, Georgia, present Westley W. Law, NAACP board member, initial* $100 *payment on their NAACP Life Membership.*

■ Excerpts of southern newspaper reaction to the University of Alabama riots

"Violence in Alabama"

WE GIVE below excerpts of southern editorial comment on the three days (February 4-6) of student rioting at the University of Alabama over the admission of Autherine Lucy to the University. Many of the newspapers, while deploring the violence, assert that it was "not especially surprising." This is the position of the Miami Beach, Florida, *Sun:*

In Alabama the spectacle offered by students at that state's university may be shocking but not especially surprising. Their behavior over the appearance of a Negro student in their classes brought on manifestations that had been predicted and threatened, and should have been expected, and may still be expected in other states, in the South and in the North.

And before analysis of the Alabama affair is undertaken by our own local wiseacres they might as well await the advent of Negroes in Florida's universities and observe the pattern of campus etiquette that follows. . . .

The outburst of hate against the Negro race in Alabama was no phenomenon; it was rather a natural consequence to the Supreme Court dictum, and unfortunately will be repeated in other areas and probably at other colleges. But the white race of Miami Beach with full appropriateness can withhold judgment for the present, considering that we have here probably the only American city where Negroes are not permitted to live. (Except to 'live in' as servants.) . . .

In deploring the Tuscaloosa disturbance, however, the *Sun* assumes that lily-white Miami Beach will not strongly denounce the campus rioting against Autherine Lucy, it not yet having been established just what our community behavior would be in event of a breakthrough of the rigid racial barrier here.

The Alabama incident is a blot on civilization's progress, but Miami Beach does not find itself in position to be among communities which condemn it. . . .

The Lakeland, Florida, *Ledger* agrees with the *Sun* that the rioting was to be expected:

What happened on the campus of the University of Alabama yesterday attests the folly of trying to force integration by legal pressure instead of leaving the interracial matter alone to be worked out on a voluntary and gradual basis. . . .

Such rioting cannot be condoned, of course, but such incidents will occur in many places throughout the South as the effort to force integration is continued, human nature being as it is. . . .

"The explosion at the University of Alabama over the entry of a Negro student," explains the Opelike, Alabama, *News*, "may well point up what might be expected in many parts of the Deep South. The incident outlines a small pattern of the difficulty posed by the U. S. Supreme Court's segregation decision. It forecasts more or less stormy complance, if indeed reasonably extended compliance is had in the foreseeable future.

"The fact that 'outsiders' joined in the demonstration in Tuscaloosa points up even greater difficulty than might otherwise be experienced. It indicates many non-students are standing by, just in case. . . .

"The thing to say in the premises is that the whole affair is regrettable. And it would be wonderful if that could solve the problem. . . ."

In Montgomery, Alabama, the *Journal* explains things this way:

> It is a tragic thing that the highest court in the land should be responsible for such regrettable events as have been occurring at the University of Alabama.
>
> The Supreme Court's declaration that black is white and that white is black puts responsibility for race clashes squarely upon the court.
>
> Man intuitively knows that the court's assertion is not so, and that the federal constitution does not uphold such dictum.
>
> The board of trustees of the university has acted wisely in removing the source of the trouble at the university to preserve order on the campus. The unfortunate woman in the center of this disturbance is being used by out of state agitators for sinister purpose, and it is a real tragedy that our highest court should be the basic cause of this trouble, as well as of the unhappy distrust being aroused in so many ways and in so many places. . . . We believe, and the decisions of the courts until now have upheld that belief, that state segregation laws are right and proper uses of the police powers of the state. . . .
>
> Race mixing is not going to be established in Alabama, but resistance to it should be accompanied by our respect for law and order, and in the confidence that time will convince others as we are already convinced, that the supreme court (*Sic*!) has grievously erred in its political ipse dixit.

The Beaumont, Texas, *Enterprise*, condemns, not the University of Alabama mob, but the NAACP:

> . . . All the trouble that has occurred was brought upon the city of Tuscaloosa and the state university by a New York Negro organization,, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
>
> If left to their own devices the two Negro women involved in the racial dispute with the University of Alabama might never have done what they did or tried to do. . . .

"The South, and Alabama in particular," says the Atlanta, Georgia, *Journal*, "can be grateful that the President was wise enough to state that, for the present, the federal government would observe a hands-off policy regarding the Alabama disturbance.

"It can be claimed with justification that the trouble at the University of Alabama was fostered largely by the federal government, through the Supreme Court's insistence on forcing integration by fiat. . . . The Southern states feel there already has been too much ill-advised interference from the federal level. . . ."

"The courts can issue legal edicts, and declare that they must be enforced, but the courts cannot dictate human nature and regulate the feelings of human beings," expostulates the Augusta, Georgia, *Chronicle*. ". . . The court," the paper adds, "must bear the onus for ushering in an unhappy and tragic era in our history whereas before its decisions, all was going well."

The Kingsport, Tennessee, *Times* is on the side of law and order:

> . . . The state of Alabama has to decide whether the constituted authorities of the state are to call the play or whether they are to submit to mob rule. If the state or the university decides to change a decision because of the action of the mob that will not be a victory for the segregationists, but rather a defeat for law and order. . . .
>
> There can be an honest difference of opinion on the subject of segregation. Opponents of segregation have frequently tried to picture those who believe in it as bigoted, benighted people who hate Negroes. That we know is not a true picture. But unless mob rule is strongely rejected by the thoughtful people of Alabama who are opposed to integration, the state and the South will be tarred with the charge of mob rule. . . .

"The actions [University of Alabama rioting] should be recognized," explains the Asheville, North Carolina, *Citizen*, "as a storm warning—a warning of trouble ahead in the South wherever there is too abrupt an effort to force desegregation against deeply-embedded tradition. The South, we have held and still hold, is not prepared to accept mass integration. . . ."

"When the Supreme Court issued its desegregation ruling," says the Chattanooga, Tennessee, *News-Free Press*, "it violated the Constitution, and when it and other courts ordered the unconstitutional ruling into effect they assured violations of the peace.

"Violations of both types are to be deeply deplored. But the court violations are born of tyranny while the violations of the peace are born of desperation and frustration—and a determination not to surrender to illegal court action. . . .

". . . . We do not know whether the Supreme Court expected resistance when it ordered desegergation or whether it expected supine acceptance. It need not have expected the latter. This is one of the first cases of violence, but unfortunately there is no reason to believe it will be the last. . . ."

The Newport News, Virginia, *Press* editorializes:

> The rioting at Tuscaloosa over the admission, by federal court order, of one lone Negro student into the University of Alabama may be an excellent object lesson to the Supreme Court on what its anti-segregation school decisions can stir up. But the affray ought not to be allowed to end with its subsiding when the university's board of trustees droppd the student from the list—which apparently is what the university administration intends to do.
>
> The white students' rioting was no less than a revolt against constituted authority. That cannot be tolerated in any school. If the students don't like how the school is being run, they can go home and find (if they can, under present-day crowding) another place to study. . . .
>
> In short, a school—like any other social institution—must be orderly, or it cannot function. . . .

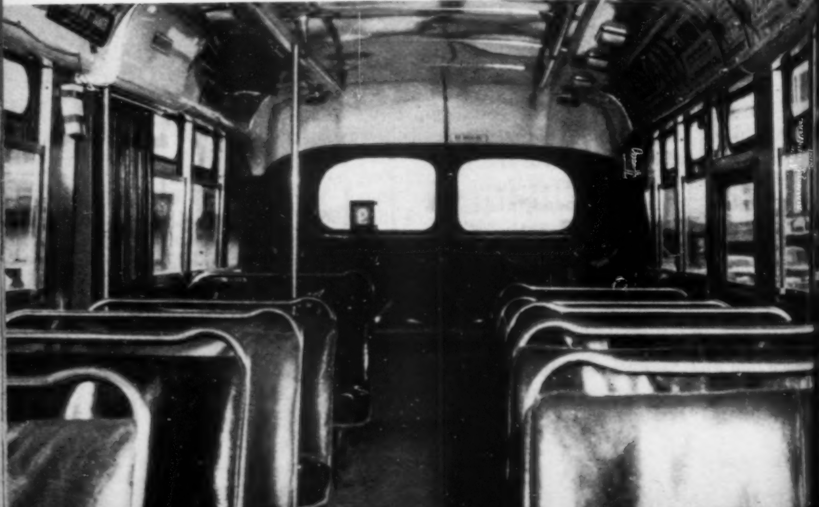
Comments the Lynchburg, Virginia, *Advance:*

(*Continued on page* 255)

TRIPLETS *of Mr. and Mrs. Adolphus Pugh of Baltimore, Md. were given membership in the NAACP by Mrs. Anne Beadenkopf. See Maryland branch news.*

A COMPLETELY *empty Montgomery, Alabama, City Transit bus stops in the middle of town during the middle of the day. "White" and "Negro" signs have been removed.*

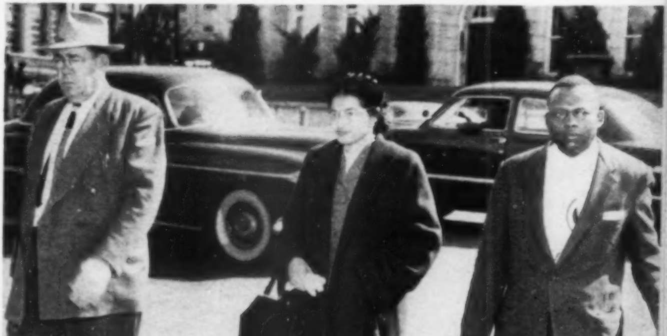
United Press Photo



THE FARTHEST NORTH *branch of the NAACP gave its certificate of recognition to five outstanding Fairbanks, Alaska, citizens on March 3 for bettering racial relations.*

SOME *of the Freedom Seals sales-people of the Klamath Falls, Oregon, branch of the NAACP.*

United Press Photo



MRS. ROSA PARKS *(center), accompanied by her attorney Charles Langford (right) and an unidentified deputy is on her way to jail—arrested on charges of violating city segregation laws in Montgomery, Alabama, boycott of local buses.*

REV. KENNETH A. BOWEN, *president of the Buffalo, N. Y., branch receives the 1955 Good Neighbor Award from William A. Lawless (right), president of the Buffalo City Council. The Buffalo branch has grown from 119 to more than a 1,000 members.*

AUTHERINE LUCY *arrives, with Thurgood Marshall (right), NAACP special counsel, at a press conference on March 2 at NAACP headquarters in New York City.*

United Press Photo

■ **Indians in East Africa occupy positions which educated Africans feel the African should fill**

The Indian in East Africa

By *Irene Diggs*

TODAY there are large Indian (Indian includes persons from both India and Pakistan) communities in East Africa: Kenya in 1948 had 123,081; Zanzibar (1950) had 60,452; Madagascar (1950) 19,330; Moçambique (1950) had 14,268; Uganda (1952) 36,801 and Tanganyika (1952) 72,764.

Indians have been coming to Africa and Africans going to India for many centuries, some say two thousand years. Although many of the Indians were agriculturists in India they became traders, and good traders, in East Africa. Indians came to Africa to trade and they are still coming to trade. There is evidence of trade between India and Egypt as early as the seventh and eight centuries B.C. Gold, pearls, ivory, rice, pepper, peacocks and monkeys were carried from the coast of Malabar in early times to Egypt and eventually were transported to Europe.

In the thirteenth century Marco Polo speaks of the great trading peoples of southern India and of the Indian merchants of Gujerat, who were busy exporting pepper, ginger and dyestuffs such as indigo. Merchants travelled to and from India by way of Egypt and the Red Sea so that the northeast coast of Africa became well-known to many Indian traders. Indo-African trade was facilitated by Arabs who have for centuries been operating much the same type of dhows as they do today between Hadramaut and the ports along the western and eastern shores of the Indian Ocean. There were Indian merchants with the Arabs almost from the beginning. Vasco de Gama had an Indian pilot on his first voyage across the Indian Ocean. Stanley and Livingstone men-

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DR. IRENE DIGGS, who teaches anthropology at Morgan State College, Baltimore, Maryland, was a recent visitor in East Africa.

tion Indian traders.

INDIAN AS SETTLER

Perhaps it was not until the coming of colonial powers that the Indian came as a settler to Africa. There is little evidence of Indian settlement in Africa until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Eighteen thousand indentured Indian laborers were recruited to build the railway from Mombasa to Kampala. Perhaps most of them returned to India but some remained and settled in Nairobi and on the coast. Today the Indian community in Kenya is the largest element in the non-African population. Indians have played a considerable part in the development of East Africa. Merchants opened small shops and stores up and down the coast and for a considerable distance inland. Indian families settled of their own accord, others with the help of the Sultan of Zanzibar. Indians helped the Sultans of Zanzibar to manage their business and commercial affairs. Much of East Africa was conquered and occupied by the British colonists with the help of Indian soldiers. Churchill writes, "It was the Sikh soldier who bore an honourable part in the conquest and pacification of the African territories."

Many Indian artisans came, at the end of the second world war, to East Africa to work on the railways and other modern developments and brought with them or later sent for their families. In Tanganyika many Indian families came from Zanzibar. When German East African estates and other property were being sold at low prices they were purchased by Indians who were in a position to buy a considerable proportion of the German lands sold by the British government. They also took the place of German firms in the import and export trade.

INDIAN GROUP MIXED

The majority of Indians in East Africa have come from the west coast of India: Kathiwar, Cutch, Bombay and Ahmedabad and in some few cases from the Punjab and from the south. The Goans come from Portuguese Goa and are found mainly in the lower ranks of the civil service rather than in trade. There are Hindus and many different groups of Muslims: the Bohora are often found in the hardware trade, the Ithnasheri, the Sunni and the Ismaili Khojas who are the followers of Aga Khan. There is a smaller number of Sikhs from Northern India and of Indian Christians from southern India. In the main these people speak Gujerati, but also understand Hindustani and a half dozen or more other languages. The men learn English and the children are often proficient in several languages. Indian women less often than men learn English.

They are an industrious people, hardworking, and frugal and willing to live in very much the same way as the indigenous peoples and often with them, especially in the inland districts. They have their *dukas*, trading posts, in the remote parts of the African bush where European settlers hesitate to go because of the loneliness and the lack of gadets and the conveniences of modern living. In East Africa a great deal of the trade and commerce is in the hands of the Indian. The Indian trader is responsible for a large part of the indigenous trade, especially the sale of imported goods and the collection and marketing of indigenous products for export. The Indians have provided East Africa with a comprehensive network of wholesale and retail traders. His greater experience in education and trade has had the effect of keeping trade and commerce out of the hands of Africans. On the coast they have their own communities, clubs, schools et cetera and are often quite well-to-do.

FOUND IN MOST OCCUPATIONS

The Indian is found in the skilled, semi-skilled and clerical posts which the educated African now emerging might otherwise occupy. As artisans they perform services which the European does not wish to perform. Out of proportion to their numbers they are skilled artisans and craftsmen, goldsmiths, tinsmiths, blacksmiths, masons, carpenters, electricians, mechanics, taxi and bus drivers, barbers, shoemakers. There are a few occupations in which Indians are not found: They are architects, doctors, dentists, lawyers, plantation managers. There are few Indians in agriculture except large-scale agriculture which employs African laborers. They are the office workers, chief clerks, policemen and police inspectors, customs officials, railway workers, telegraphers. They not only fill these positions but are willing to work long hours for lower wages than the immigrant European. They often live over or adjacent to their workshop or office. They are courteous and solicitous of all. But in East Africa the Indian is above all the shopkeeper, the seller of cloth, the fancy goods merchant, the grocer, the chemist, the gasoline station manager. The Indian has demonstrated to the African that non-Europeans can, with education and by hard work, achieve success and distinction. Now they are beginning to have representation in municipal and territorial bodies of the government, and again out of proportion to their numbers.

In 1305 Marco Polo wrote the following about the Indians in Gujerat:

"They are the best and the most truthful in the world, and a foreign merchant can safely entrust his goods to them, knowing that they will be sold in the most loyal manner, for the traders seek zealously the profit of the foreigner and ask no commission except what he pleases to bestow."

ACCUSED OF PROFITEERING

Today the European in East Africa accuses the Indian of profiteering, of dealing in the black market during the war years, of high rentals; he calls the landlord extortionist; they say he participates in the illicit diamond traffic; that he exploits the African for his own profit. The Indian has been accused of furnishing arms, ammunition, and money to the Mau Mau. The Europeans say they want no more Indians in Africa and have in some areas made it more difficult for them to enter. The European complains of the high birth rate of the Indian and what statistics are available

(*Continued on page* 254)

Looking and Listening . . .

RACIAL INTEGRATION

THE United Student Christian Council has called on its 3,000 campus student fellowships to support the United States Supreme Court decision banning segregation in the public schools, urging its member movements to work towards racial integration "at all levels of their organization, including local churches."

In a resolution of its executive committee, the student group also appealed to college and university officials to take immediate steps "toward racial integration in dormitories, eating places and theaters" and to develop positive approaches towards "inter-cultural relations on the campus."

The USCC is the coordinating body of thirteen of the major United States student movements, including the YMCA and the YWCA, and is the related student wing of the National Council of Churches.

The action followed reports to the executive committee by campus representatives from various sections of the country concerning achievement of integration in colleges and universities.

REAL ESTATE RULING

ONE way to break up black ghettos is to prevent real estate dealers from discriminating in rental and sale of housing. Recently the Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights sent information to real estate agents advising them that they are required to serve all persons as clients, regardless of race or creed or color. The ruling is based on the CCCR's interpretation of the Public Accommodations Statute under the definition of a place of public accomodation as "an establishment which caters or offers its services or facilities or goods to the general public."

The ruling was released following several requests for information, including a letter to Dr. Allen F. Jackson, commission chairman, from Charles M. Lyman of the legal firm of Bronson, Rice & Lyman in New Haven.

Attorney Bronson wrote that as counsel for the New Haven Real Estate Board he would appreciate knowing the commission policy concerning the responsibilities of real estate agents. In his reply, Dr. Jackson stated that "The Commission on Civil Rights has ruled that a real estate agent is covered under the definition of a place of public accomodation. It is therefore a violation of this statute for a real estate agent to offer his services to any person or to refuse to accept any person as a client because of his race, creed or color."

"BROTHERHOOD"

WE reprint this editorial on "Brotherhood" from *The Gazette and Daily* (February 20, 1956), York, Pennsylvania, because its sentiments are very appropriate for race conscious America:

Brotherhood Week of 1956 could be made memorable if all those who during the week will commit themselves to the principles of brotherhood would follow up by supporting the work of those who are active in its behalf. We refer in great part to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Some people who have applauded the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court declaring segregated schools unconstitutional seem to forget that the opportunity for this decision was afforded by the NAACP, which carried a case through the courts until the historic moment of a unanimous anti-segregation pronouncement arrived.

This is the way good things get done. They do not just happen. They do not come about by words alone but by serious, dedicated effort. Effort, let us take note, within the framework of democracy. The NAACP has shown that democracy can take care of correcting social injustice, if only sufficient initiative and perseverance is exercised by citizens. The instruments of democracy do not work by themselves; they do not automatically function for the benefit of the majority; they must be used by those whose devotion to democracy includes the determination to act in it and by it, as well as to speak for it.

In the years to come, when the equality of colored people and all others is accepted throughout the land, the distinguished service of the NAACP to democratic principle and method will surely be recognized. This service already stands in stark contrast to the contempt for democracy demonstrated by the agents of the doctrine of white supremacy. The NAACP has confined its efforts to the law. But the white supremacists call for resistance outside the law and to the law as confirmed by the Supreme Court. As the courts reiterate that segregated schools are unconstitutional, that the attempts of state legislatures to evade this fact are also unconstitutional, the white supremacists intensify their agitation for lawless behavior.

Here is where the NAACP and all like-minded organizations require the support of decent Americans. The NAACP can carry a case to the courts. But neither the NAACP nor the courts can enforce the law. That must be done by the proper authorities. The authorities in some southern states are covertly or openly on the side of the white supremacists. That leaves the enforcement of constitutional law squarely up to the executive branch of the federal government. To be more specific, it leaves it up to the Chief Executive and to the Department of Justice which is under his jurisdiction.

So far the federal government has appeared far less interested in enforcing law in the south than in finding excuses for not doing anything. This is dangerous business. The NAACP and the courts have gotten democracy off to a good start in the south. But if mob action, violence and murder are permitted to develop, there is no telling what will come to pass. In this 1956 Brotherhood Week there could be no better way of expressing our sincere faith in brotherhood than in calling upon the federal government to see to it that the enemies of democracy are restrained according to law, so that the Constitution may become actual in the south.

FORCED LABOR

IT MAY come as a surprise to many people that slavery and forced labor still exist in various parts of the world. Only recently the United Nations Secretary-General and the Director-General of the International Labor Organization published a 356-page document reproducing material concerning forced labor on the mainland of China and in Albania. There were also references in the report to alleged forced labor in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, the USSR, the Union of South Africa and Portuguese territories.

We quote three paragraphs:

> A detailed account by the government of the Republic of China on forced labor in Communist China describes slave labor camps and the treatment of workers and gives the numbers of slave laborers imprisoned and conscripted. Alleging that those who do not accede to the demands of the Chinese Communists . . . have all been earmarked for elimination, the Republic of China demands that the United Nations adopt effective sanctions to eliminate forced labor. . . .
>
> According to the United States report, some 40 political prisons and concentration camps have been in operation at one time or another during the past 10 years; over 80,000 men, women and children are said to have passed through them; of that number, 16,000 allegedly perished.
>
> Estimating that at present some 10,000 persons are serving in political prisons and an additional 10,000 to 15,000 in concentration camps, the United States report states that in addition to those doing penal labor, there is a larger number of people in Albania, chiefly youths, who are forced to perform *voluntary* (actually compulsory) work. . . .

WORLD POPULATION

HOW many people are there in the world? How are they distributed? The latest issue of *Population and Vital Statistics Reports* of the United Nations give the following figures as of midyear 1954. They are estimates in round figures, as follows:

Africa	214,000,000
North America	233,000,000
South America	121,000,000
Asia (excl. USSR)	1,451,000,000
Europe (excl. USSR)	407,000,000
Oceania	14,200,000
USSR	214,000,000

GOLD COAST EDUCATION

SECONDARY education is one of the problems confronting the Gold Coast, Africa, government. Robert Gardiner, permanent secretary, Ministry of Housing, Accra, analyzed these problems in a speech delivered on January 7, 1956, before The Conference of Heads of Encouraged and Day Secondary Schools. We quote a few pertinent paragraphs from this speech:

> Most parents in this country who have not had any Secondary education themselves desire to see their children rise socially by giving them the chance to receive secondary education. The common entrance examination is taken perhaps more seriously by parents than by the children themselves. The children may not realize fully the importance of the test and what it will mean to their careers, but the parents know and they are anxious. The common entrance examination and scholarship scheme, which goes with it, are intended to give opportunity to all talented children and to remove the class bias which the restriction of secondary education to those whose parents can afford it creates. The anxiety and frustration of parents in this purely competitive system create

a new social problem. It appears here that the desire to ensure social justice in some instances leads to the loss of opportunity to those who appreciate perhaps more fully the value of what is being offered. Parents who have received secondary education and are anxious to make sacrifices for their children have been known to see their children fail to qualify in the common entrance examination. It is not surprising that some of them try through bribery and other means to get their children accepted. In the competitive scheme and in a society where a new form of social stratification is only just beginning, the importance of qualifying now is very great indeed.

It seems to me that a serious social problem in secondary education is set out very clearly in the number of children who attempt the common entrance and the few who gain admission. I am told that some 17,000 attempted the examination last year and that there are vacancies for some 800. What is to become of the 16,000 and more? More important still, how can we measure the anxiety, frustration and disappointment caused to the parents of these children? If this problem is not tackled immediately, it may lead to widespread corruption which will affect the children even before they start to train. . . .

The day pupil in this country is a serious social problem. Most of these pupils come to town from the neighboring villages to stay with relations or to find work as domestic servants or generally to fend for themselves. It is not surprising that many fall into evil hands. There they are exploited by unscrupulous landlords or hostel keepers who crowd them into filthy hovels. Others fall into the hands of demanding and callous empolyers who make it difficult for them to study. Many more find funds not forthcoming from their home villages and start to live by their wits. There are instances of pupils who have been ill for days without any help and without anybody realizing that they are ill and starving. This is a scandal. We cannot afford to expose the lives of our aspiring young boys and girls to these risks.

The problem is partly the result of limited resources. Should the answer be boarding schools or nothing? It seems to me that the need for facilities for secondary education is so great that a compromise must be found. . . .

NON-WHITE GUESTS

THE increasing rigidity in application of *apartheid* in South Africa has created the problem of the "non-white guest." He may be the visiting member of an American baseball team, a non-white diplomatic envoy, or the non-white member of some international delegation. Here is the solution of several South African newspapers as reported by the South African *Press Digest:*

Attention had been paid by various speakers at the Sabra conference to the leading role which the Union was destined to play in Africa and the consequent implications of intercourse with representatives of non-European countries, declared *Die Transvaler* (16/1/56). How topical this matter is appears from the fact that today an international delegation arrived in South Africa to deliberate upon race separation or equality in soccer. One of the members of this delegation is an Egyptian. The reception and accommodation of non-European delegates is, indeed, but one of the many race situations which the Union must face. Two other related problems arose during the Sabra conference, namely, the challenged letter which an official of the Baseball Board wrote to the visiting Americans to "enlighten' them on the race attitude in South Africa; and the attendance at conferences by non-Europeans. To these can be added questions like the following: the behavior of South African delegates at conferences outside South Africa where non-Europeans are represented; the question whether and in what way the Union's defence force should co-operate in war-time with non-European forces in Africa, the Middle East or elsewhere; participation or not by non-Europeans in sports teams which visit the Union or in teams against which the Springboks play in other countries; and finally the multitude of situations in the Union itself where White and non-White come into contact with each other in offices, factories, on streets, in shops, at conferences and gatherings, etc. . . .The question which calls for answer increasingly loudly is how this variety of situations should be treated. The Afrikaner experiences practically no difficulty in determining his attitude in any given instance. But there are situations which extend beyond the personal. The prestige and influence of our country in Africa and in the more distant outside world is to a large extent dependent on the manner in which these are dealt with. While it is useful, even imperative that the thinking public should account to itself regarding the answers which insistence race relationships demand, be assured that the Government, judging by the interview with Mr. Eric Louw . . . have given attention for a long time already to its policy and behaviour with regard to non-European states in Africa. . . .

In an interview with *Die Burger* (14/1/56), the minister of external affairs, Mr. Eric Louw, said that a decision about the accommodation of prominent non-Europeans who visited the Union as delegates to international deliberations could be shortly awaited. Attention had been devoted to the matter for a long time already. "If South Africa wants to play a leading role in the affairs of Africa, especially south of the Sahara, we will have to make contact with the non-European states."

Mr. Louw's statement on the accommodation of prominent non-Whites visiting the Union was discussed in the *Evening Post* (16/1/56) which asked whether this problem could be overcome in isolation without affecting the general segregation tradition in S. A. 'For example, would the diplomatic envoys of the Sudan or Nigeria agree to be confined to specific areas or be subjected to any restrictions whatever that are not equally applicable to the envoys of, say, Australia, or the Argentine? Can it be assumed that the non-White envoys will not be allowed by their governments to accept any form of discrimination. Once we have become accustomed to the idea of according prominent visiting Black men the ordinary courtesies of hospitality, it should not be too difficult for our Government to encourage other adjustments in our attitudes, necessitated by the demands of our position in Africa and the world.'

SCIENTISTS OUTLAW BIAS

BECAUSE of protests against having held the December 1956 meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in racially segregated Atlanta Georgia, the Executive Council of the AAAS adopted the following resolution, by a vote of 224 to 31, in January outlawing future meetings of the AAAS in jim-crow cities:

The American Association for the Advancement of Science is a democratic association of all its members; no one is barred from election because of race or creed. All members are privileged to cooperate freely in the fulfillment of the Association's high objectives which are the furtherance of science and human welfare. No member is limited in his service because of race or creed.

In order that the Association may attain its objectives, it is necessary and desirable that all members may freely meet for scientific discussions, the exchange of ideas, and the diffusion of established knowledge. This they must be able to do in formal meetings and in informal social gatherings. These objectives cannot be fulfilled if free association of the members is hindered by unnatural barriers.

Therefore be it resolved that the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science be held under conditions which make possible the satisfaction of those ideals and requirements.

PRESIDENTIAL POSSIBILITIES

THIS little item should help your risibility:

In the last issue, we suggested two Republicans: Senators William F. Knowland and Senator William E. Jenner.

This month, we name two courageous Democrats: Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi and Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina.

—*The American Mercury*
(March, 1956, page 64

LAW STUDENTS CHAIR THEIR PRESIDENT

Carried shoulder-high by fellow students of University College, London, is Mr. William C. Daniels, of Cape Coast. He was elected President of the College's Law Society, which has a membership of 300 and recently held its annual dinner in London. (See story on page six.)

The Gold Coast Today, February 1, 1956

We Have Been
Before and We Mus

* * *

IF YOU'RE NOT WILLING TO GIVE UP . . . THEN SIGN UP!

No one who has kept abreast of the situation faced by Negroes, especially in the deep South, will question the gravity of the present struggle to implement the Supreme Court decison on school desegregation—or the importance of immediate support. The only question any freedom-loving individual of any race, color or creed can have is simply this: How can I help as soon as possible? The answer is simply this: Become a Life Member of the NAACP today!

Annual installments of as little as $50 or more, sent to either your local branch of NAACP or the New York headquarters, can make you a Life Member in this vital crusade.

Challenged as Never

Meet That Challenge!

LIFE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

KIVIE KAPLAN DR. BENJAMIN MAYS

CO-CHAIRMEN

Kelly Alexander
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Hon. Herbert H. Lehman
Dr. James J. McClendon
A. Philip Randolph
Walter Reuther
Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
Ike Smalls
A. Maceo Smith
Dr. Channing H. Tobias

N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th St.
New York 18, N.Y.

I wish to become a Life Member of the NAACP.

☐ I enclose check of $ ....
as first payment toward a life membership.

☐ I enclose check of $500 for full Life Membership.

Name ....

Address ....

City and State ....

Editorial

THE NAACP AND EXTREMISM

ENEMIES of the NAACP, and even some of our best friends and well-wishers, are charging the Association with immoderate and unreasonable haste, of intransigence and extremism, not only in our procedures in public school desegregation, but in other related aspects of our fight for full citizenship. According to these critics, there is no middle group—only the White Council extremists on the one hand and the NAACP radicals on the other. Newspapers in the Deep South are filled daily with the wildest lies of hatred and fear, smears and innuendoes, unfounded assumptions and groundless charges that the Association is stirring up racial tension, is made up of Communists, etc., etc.

Actually, however, our fulminators and defamers are the real extremists, the most stubborn upholders of segregation and racial inequality to be found in the United States. Some of them including some Congressmen, are even trying, it seems, to organize a New Confederacy, not only to fight the NAACP, but also the United States Supreme Court and all constituted authority. These are the people who are openly boasting that they will not obey the law of the land, the people who plan to keep the Federal Courts busy on "nonracial excuses" for continued segregation, the people who rant about the nine Supreme Court justices as the "nine ninnies." These are the real extremists—not the NAACP.

THESE white Southern extremist groups accuse the Association of being precipitous and thoughtless in action, and guilty of irresponsible rabble rousing.

However, the charge currently being made (and echoed in sections outside the South) is that the Association is "forcing" the issue, "going too fast" and "pushing too hard." The Southern wail now is "go slow!"

Let us examine this "gradualism" warning to see what it means to most Southerners and what it means to Negroes and the NAACP. To most Americans the word has its simple dictionary definition of "changing or moving by degrees." To the defiant Southerner, however, the word, as he uses it, always means "never." What the Southerner wants, it seems, is a gradual improvement of the Negro's status *within* the segregated pattern. He wants the Negro to advance over on the "Negro's side" of the racial fence as a Negro, but he wants no breaches made in the wall of racial separation. Even the slightest change arouses his fears and he begins to rant about "outside pressures," "gradualism," "our Negroes want segregation," and all sorts of twaddle which has not even the remotest connection with the issue under discussion.

TAKE the case of Autherine Juanita Lucy which provoked the mob action at the University of Alabama. Did the NAACP act precipitously in her case, since many of our friends, as well as our enemies, have accused us of pushing her entry into the University? Miss Lucy applied for admission to the University of Alabama, not under the recent United States Supreme Court rulings of May 17, 1954, and May 31, 1955, but under the Court's ruling on the admission of Negro students to southern graduate schools, a decision handed down in June 1950. It was not until two years later, in 1953, that Miss Lucy applied for admission to the University of Alabama. And she spent two years in the courts seeking admission. No court action is ever hurried or precipitous and neither Miss Lucy nor the NAACP can be accused of unreasonable haste in her case. Miss Lucy was patient. The NAACP was patient. NAACP lawyers were patient. Surely this was gradualism to suit the most technical interpretation, but what happened when the Court, on February 1, 1956, ordered Miss Lucy's admission to the University of Alabama?

THE whole world knows of the rioting, the mob rule on a university campus, and the threats of lynching when she applied at the beginning of the semester in February. We ask, who were the gradualists in this case. Who were the unreasonable, precipitous groups? The incitement to mob action, the stirring up of racial ill-will, the hasty actions were all on the part of the whites, not on the part of Miss Lucy or the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Or let us take the case of segregated housing in the United States. The Negro ghetto, offspring of segregated housing, is one of the most flagrantly prejudiced and unconstitutional practices leveled against Negroes. Though Negroes had long been segregated in housing, it was in 1917 that Louisville, Ky., passed an ordinance to perfect housing segregation. This led to the famous case of *Buchanan vs. Warley* (1917) and the United States Supreme Court decision declaring the Louisville and all such ordinances illegal. But it was thirty-two years later before the Supreme Court outlawed the restrictive covenant in 1949. Again the NAACP and Negroes were patient, relying on the orderly processes of the courts.

Negroes worked for thirty years to be allowed to purchase Pullman accommodations in the South, to be permitted to eat in dining cars without being hidden, like lepers, behind a curtain. And the ICC ruling banning segregation of interstate passengers in rail and bus transportation and waiting rooms of stations was handed down only last fall—November 25, 1955.

SEGREGATION, "the Southern way of life," is doomed. It is doomed legally; it is doomed morally. The Negro masses are in revolt against it. They know from bitter experience that separation always means inequality. They know that Southerners have never done anything effectual to bring them equality, that outside pressures and the courts—perfectly legal procedures—are always needed to achieve even the modest gains we have made. And these the NAACP and Negroes shall continue to use. No time is gained by settling a great question wrong. And the NAACP and Southern Negroes are resolved to settle it right—by legal and constitutional means.

Good News

Mattiwilda Dobbs, coloratura soprano, has been engaged by the Metropolitan Opera Company, New York City, for the opera season 1956-57.

★ ★ ★

Harrison Dillard, the Olympic hurdles cahmpion from Cleveland, Ohio, has received the James E. Sullivan Memorial Trophy.

The award goes annually to the amateur athlete who by performance and good example does the most to advance the cause of sportsmanship.

★ ★ ★

Adelaide E. Byrd, Chicago, Illinois, is the only Negro employed by the Consumers National Bank. She is secretary to president Samuel L. Seltzer.

★ ★ ★

Two Negro students were initiated into the Williams College of Williamstown, Massachusetts, chapter of Sigma Phi in February. They had been the center of a controversy within the national society, which condemned the William's chapter for pledging Negroes. Neither the college nor the chapter would divulge the men's names.

★ ★ ★

When Dr. Ruth W. Hayre assumed her duties as principal of the William Penn High School for Girls in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, she was the first Negro in such a job.

★ ★ ★

When Dr. Jean Harris, first Negro admitted to the Medical College of Virginia, was appointed to a three-year residency at St. Phillip Hospital. she also became the first to attain a residency at the Richmond hospital.

★ ★ ★

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

CIVIL RIGHTS ASSEMBLY

PROGRAM PRESENTED: Two thousand civil rights advocates from thirty-eight states met in Washington, D. C., March 4-6, in a National Delegate Assembly for Civil Rights.

Representing the organizations of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, the delegates came to Washington to accelerate the drive for enactment of civil rights measures, to hear leaders of both parties set forth their party program in this field, and to visit their senators and representatives in Congress urging them to vote for an eight-point civil rights program.

Chairman of the Leadership Conference which called the assembly is Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP. Arnold Aronson of the National Community Relations Advisory Council is secretary. The conference is composed of some 50 national civic, church, labor, fraternal, minority group and professional organizations.

In his keynote address Mr. Wilkins said that the assembly would ask for enactment of the entire program but would stress the demand for legislation to protect security of the person and the right to vote.

Other points in the program call for enactment of FEPC legislation to prevent discrimination in employment; withholding of federal funds for education, housing and welfare from institutions, facilities and localities which refuse to comply with constitutional requirements for non-segregation; creation of a civil rights division within the Department of Justice to protect civil rights in all sections of the country; establishment of a permanent Federal Commission on Civil Rights to make continuous appraisals and to recommend action with respect to civil rights problems; elimination of remaining segregation and other forms of discrimination in interstate travel; and establishment of majority rule in the Senate and House of Representatives.

The delegates rejected a contribution proffered by a local labor organization which had been expelled from the Congress of Industrial Organizations and never re-admitted. In a telegram, signed by Mr. Wilkins and Mr. Aronson, the union group was informed that its expulsion from the CIO "strengthens our doubts that the objectives of your organization coincide with" the goals and methods of the assembly.

The following 38 organizations were represented at the sessions:

A.M.E. Zion Church; Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity; American Civil

NEW YORK's *Governor Harriman hears plea for increased enforcement of the New York State anti-discrimination law in the Executive Chamber at Albany as Paget Alves (standing) of the Urban League presents the arguments of an interracial group in favor of the Metcalf-Baker Bills to enlarge the authority of the State Commission Against Discrimination. George Fleary represented the Brooklyn, N. Y., NAACP branch.*

Liberties Union; American Council on Human Rights; American Federation of Labor; American Jewish Committee; American Jewish Congress; American Veterans Committee; Americans for Democratic Action; Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith; Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL; Catholic Interracial Council; Congress of Industrial Organizations;

Also Congress of Racial Equality; Delta Sigma Theta Sorority; Hotel, Restaurant and Bartenders International Union of America, AFL; Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World; International Ladies Garment Workers Union, AFL; International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO; Jewish Labor Committee; National Alliance of Postal Employees; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; National Community Relations Advisory Council; National Council of Negro Women; National Negro Business League; National Supreme Council Scottish Rite Masons;

Also Textile Workers Union, CIO; The American Ethical Union; Transport Workers Union of America, CIO; Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice; United Automobile Workers of America, CIO; United Rubber Workers, CIO; United Steelworkers of America, CIO; United Transport Service Employees of America, CIO; Workers Defense League; United Packinghouse Workers of America, CIO; National Dental Association; and Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of America, AFL.

YOUTH CIVIL RIGHTS MEET

More than two hundred young people also participated in the three-day civil rights assembly. With an overall theme of "Youth and Civil Rights," the young people listened to addresses by John Gunther, legislative representative of Americans for Democratic Action; David A. Bunn, president of the National Young Democratic Club of America; Barrington D. Parker of the National Republican Club of America; Elwood Chisholm, counsel, NAACP department of teacher information and security; and Madison S. Jones, NAACP special assistant for housing.

Topics discussed during the day-long youth session included civil rights issues in the 1956 campaign; and federal, state and local action for desegregation in education and housing.

The young people represented youth councils and college chapters of the NAACP. They met under the leadership of Herbert L. Wright, NAACP youth secretary.

BUS STRIKE VICTIMS

NAACP PLEDGES SUPPORT: The 115 persons indicted in Montgomery, Alabama, for their participation in the three-month mass protest against discrimination in the Montgomery, Alabama, buses have been assured of the full support of the Association.

In a telegram to the Rev. M. L. King, one of the leaders of the movement, Roy Wilkins declared that "all our people over the nation and millions of friends stand with you and your courageous fellow citizens as you answer the indictment of the grand jury." Mr. Wilkins characterized the indictments as "police state action."

Meanwhile, Thurgood Marshall in response to a request from leaders of the Montgomery group said, "We have agreed to use all of the resources of the NAACP in their defense. The entire legal staff will give maximum support to A. D. Shores of Birmingham and Fred Gray of Montgomery, NAACP attorneys in Alabama."

Despite the high cost of defending 115 persons indicted, the NAACP attorney "guaranteed that they will have our full support."

"Never before in history," Mr. Marshall continued, "have we faced a more obvious use of otherwise normal judicial machinery to oppress a lawful enterprise of loyal American citizens. The refusal to ride the jim-crow buses was a spontaneous grass roots protest against racial discrimination touched off by the unlawful arrest of Mrs. Rosa Parks for refusing to give up her seat to a white passenger.

"This was a purely local matter and remained under the sole leadership of local Negroes. They simply refused to ride the buses and be subjected to continued unlawful segregation. Despite all predictions to the contrary, the Negroes were successful in their protest."

Unwilling to come to terms with the protest movement, city and bus company officials adopted a "get-tough" policy, the NAACP legal chief charged. He cited the harrassment by police of participants in the movement—arrests for alleged traffic violations, charges of loitering and other minor offenses. Adoption of the "get-tough" policy was followed by the bombing of the homes of Mr. King and E. D. Nixon, two of the leaders of the protest.

Despite all of this and the rabble-rousing of Senator James O. Eastland (D., Miss.), Negroes of Montgomery "stood their ground and refused to spend their money on buses which continued to discriminate against them," Mr. Marshall said.

"Instead of arresting the thugs who bombed Negroes' homes," he pointed out, "the city officials have ordered the arrest of the Negroes who are the victims of this and other types of lawless action."

ANTI-NAACP MEASURES

ANTI-NAACP MEASURES IN THE SOUTH: As the NAACP presses for implementation of the Supreme Court decisions in the public school cases, the South seeks to hobble and harass the Association.

In a series of acts by southern officials and legislatures directed against the NAACP, W. B. Rodman, attorney general of North Carolina, announced on February 17 that he will "insist" to the courts that the Association should pay $500 for failing to register in the state.

The previous day the NAACP had filed a petition in a North Carolina superior court stating the demand that it register in North Carolina is unconstitutional because it violates the Fourteenth Amendment.

Measures designed to curb the effectiveness of the NAACP have been passed, invoked or proposed recently in southern states including Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and North and South Carolina.

Some of these are:

Alabama: Over Governor James E. Folsom's veto the state legislature last August passed a bill aimed at preventing solicitation of NAACP memberships in Wilcox county. The bill requires payment of a fee of $100 for any paid organizer recruiting members in that county and payment of an additional $5 for each member solicited.

Also enacted was a bill permitting a county board of education to cancel the contract of any teacher who favors school desegregation or belongs to an organization which advocates desegregation.

Georgia: In January, Attorney General Eugene Cook asked the state legislature to investigate the NAACP "for possible subversive influences." He further charged the Association with "fomenting strife and discord."

A bill proposed by Governor Marvin Griffin would make it a felony punishable by two years in prison for anyone to "threaten" the private school system, after having been approved and set up.

Mississippi: The Mississippi House of Representatives passed on January 25 a bill designed to curb the NAACP's desegregation activities. It was described by Rep. Karl Wiesenburg as "affecting only the NAACP." The measure would make it a misdemeanor punishable by six months in jail and/or $1,000 fine for any to: ". . . incite a riot, or breach of the peace, or public disturbance, or disorderly assembly, by soliciting, or advocating, or urging, or encouraging disobedience to any law of the State of Mississippi, and nonconformance with the established traditions, customs and usages of the State of Mississippi."

Another measure, introduced in the House of Representatives, would enlarge the area of criminal libel so as "to penalize any 'slander' or 'defamation' of the state or a locality, or the inhabitants, institutions or the government." Mississippi newspaper publishers have strongly protested this bill.

South Carolina: State Attorney General Callison has announced that South Carolina will file suit against the NAACP for failure to register, and will seek to recover $7,300 in fines from the Association.

Several bills aimed at purging NAACP members from municipal, county and state positions have been introduced in the state legislature. One measure, introduced on January 10, specifies that no person could receive a teacher's certificate without signing a non-membership affidavit concerning the Communist party and the NAACP. Another bill introduced would prohibit teachers or other state and local government employees from retaining their jobs so long as they remained NAACP members. Still another measure, introduced on February 8, would bar NAACP members from state, county and municipal jobs under penalty of a $100 fine for each separate offense.

Rep. Hughes has asked the General Assembly to investigate alleged NAACP activities at the South Carolina state college in Orangeburg.

In addition to the above, suits for libel and related questions have been filed against NAACP officials and branch members in South Carolina, Florida and Alabama. A defendant in the Alabama suit is Mrs. Ruby Hurley, the Association's Southeast regional secretary. Of these suits an NAACP attorney in the national office has commented: "There is a mounting crescendo of legal efforts to stem NAACP activities."

MISCELLANEOUS

NEW ASSISTANTS: John A. Morsell of New York City has been appointed assistant to the executive secretary of the NAACP.

Mr. Morsell, who was the recipient of a doctorate in sociology from Columbia University in 1951, has been study director of International Research Associates, Inc., for the past five years. Although the firm is located in this city, Mr. Morsell spent considerable time in Europe, Latin America and the Far East carrying out governmental and commercial research studies. He also was engaged in domestic studies.

Previously, Mr. Morsell had been study director of the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University, director of the Institute of Community Relations at Sydenham Hospital in New York, and a supervisor in the New York City Department of Welfare.

He currently is technical advisor of the Committee on Civil Rights in East Manhattan. In 1951 he served as a member of a field staff studying the effects of racial integration in the armed forces, and in 1935 was a member of the research staff of the Mayor's Commission on Conditions in Harlem.

In addition to his doctorate from Columbia University, Mr. Morsell holds a master's degree in social legislation from the same institution, and was graduated *cum laude* from the College of the City of New York, where he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa, honorary scholarship fraternity.

He lives in Brooklyn with his wife, the former Majorie Poole of Pittsburgh, and their 15-year-old son, Frederick.

RAISES $2,400: The Memphis, Tennessee, branch has raised $2,400 in a special campaign of recruiting NAACP life members. The figure includes four paid-in-full life members at $500 each and ten subscribers who have made the first payment on a life membership.

The new fully-paid life members are Dr. Julian W. Kelso, Dr. J. E. Walker, Kappa Alpha Psi fraternity, and the Tri-State Bank, all of this city.

The principal officers of the Memphis NAACP branch are Mr. H. T. Lockard, president, and Miss Elsie Vaughn, secretary.

AUGUSTUS GRANVILLE DILL

Mr. Augustus Granville Dill, business manager of *The Crisis* from September 1913 to February 1928, died at his home in Louisville, Kentucky, on March 7, 1956. May he rest in peace. *The Crisis* extends its condolences to his bereaved family and to Mr. Dill's many friends. When Mr. Dill left *The Crisis* in 1928, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois wrote, in his "Postscript":

"It is with deep regret that *The Crisis* announces the withdrawal . . . of Mr. Augustus G. Dill as business manager. For nearly fifteen years Mr. Dill has given us loyal and efficient service. . . ."

What the Branches Are Doing

Alabama: "In walking the streets of MONTGOMERY," writes Inez Baskin, "You see on the faces of the citizenry, not resignation but grim determination to face whatever comes and not to give up or give in. . . .

"Retaliations and hysteria are far from the minds of the people. At a recent mass meeting the Hook and Ladder section of the fire department, with sirens screaming, went to the church where the meeting was being held, and when the firemen attempted to go in, they were told at the door that they had not been called and were not needed."

Arkansas: On February 8, 1956, Virgil T. Blossom, superintendent of schools, William G. Cooper, president of the school board, Mrs. Edgar F. Dixon, secretary, and the LITTLE ROCK Independent School District became defendants in a suit filed in the district court in Little Rock.

The plaintiffs were thirty-three childrn and their parents, all represented by the NAACP. The suit is the result of refusal of the Little Rock schools to register these children, who had made application at various schools on January 23 and were turned down.

California: A special award was presented to the West Coast NAACP in February by the *Sun Reporter* on the occasion of the Association's 47th anniversary. At an event attended by more than 700 persons, Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett paid a glowing tribute to the NAACP's achievements and made the presentation to secretary-council Franklin H. Williams. The affair was held at the Third Baptist church, SAN FRANCISCO.

Illinois: A. D. Smith, former Mississippi sharecropper and now a metals refining worker in Chicago, is fighting extradiction to Mississippi. Smith is now lodged in jail on charges of fleeing in interstate commerce to avoid arrest and prosecution and of attempting to take the life of a Clarksdale, Mississippi, deputy sheriff. Mr. Smith is being represented by Attorney William Henry Huff, legal representative of the CHICAGO branch.

Maryland: Mrs. Anne Beadenkopf of the BALTIMORE branch has started an "NAACP From the Cradle to the Grave" campaign to get parents to take out NAACP memberships for their babies. She has made her granddaughter a member, several other babies, as well as two sets of triplets: one being the children of Mr. and Mrs. Adolphus Pugh; the other, Mr. and Mrs. George Mack.

Minnesota: Richard Fox, assistant director of the state FEPC, was guest speaker at the February 19 meeting of the MINNEAPOLIS branch.

CLIFFORD BOATNER, *a pianist and a graduate of Brooklyn College, N. Y., was presented, with his sister, Adelaide Boatner-Cecelia, singer, in a concert on February 26 by the Staten Island NAACP branch.*

New York: The legal redress committee of the NEW YORK CITY branch, headed by Attorney Jawn Sandifer, won a victory recently in the New York State Supreme Court for an interracial couple, Thurman and Diana Faulk. The Faulks had paid Syltol Realty Corporation a deposit on an apartment at 588 West End Avenue, but they were not allowed to occupy the apartment. The couple was awarded damages of $750 in damages and a permanent injunction against the realty corporation.

Attorney Sandifer also won a case out of court for domestic worker, Ruby White. Relying on what the employment agency had said, Miss White accepted a position. But after six weeks of daily cleaning a ten-room house, washing, ironing, cooking, and caring for the children—all for $81 a month—she was forced to quit. On doing so, her employer refused to make any payment. Added to that, the agency who had placed Miss White, tried to hold some of her personal property. But a brief argument by Sandifer brought prompt and favorable results.

The BROOKLYN branch held a combination mass and membership-kick-off meeting in the Concord Baptist church on February 23. The principal speaker was Dr. Samuel D. Proctor of Virginia Union University.

The STATEN ISLAND branch presented pianist Clifford Boatner and his sister, contralto Adelaide Boatner Cecelia, in a concert on February 26 at the Staten Island Museum. The program was arranged by Mrs. Thelma Davis, chairman of the entertainment committee.

The branch investigated the case of Henry Pedro vs. the City Transit Authority, Case Number C-3973-55, with the help of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination.

The February meeting of the EASTERN LONG ISLAND branch, Riverhead, was held at the First Baptist church of Riverhead on February 20.

The meeting adopted a resolution commending Autherine Lucy in her stand for her constitutional rights as an American citizen. A resolution was also sent to the Montgomery, Alabama, branch commending them for their stand in the local bus boycott. A film, "Opportunity Unlimited," was also shown. The branch youths were the invited guests of the branch at this meeting.

Ohio: The COLUMBUS Girl Friends, one of twentey-one chapters of a national organization with units in twelve states and the District of Columbia, has started an NAACP Life Membership with a down payment of $250 on its $500. They thus join a group of organizations in Columbus which have recently started life memberships.

Sixty-one persons from nineteen Ohio branches met in Columbus on February 4 at the call of Mrs. Mary Spivey Durham, Ohio State NAACP Housing Chairwoman, and Madison Jones, NAACP special housing assistant, for the purpose of discussing housing problems in Ohio.

The group heard Charles Francis, Dayton, outline the program of the the State NAACP and call upon real estate dealers to stop advertising housing "For Colored" or "For Negroes." Madison Jones emphasized NAACP policy on housing, pointing out that "We are working for integrated housing, not housing *for* Negroes or housing *for* minorities. Integrated housing is the key to the whole fight against racial segregation and discrimination."

The COLUMBUS branch is one of the few branches in the country with a credit union. It was started in September 1955, now, has over $1,000 in assets, and is making loans to its shareholders. Mrs. Martha Slater is president; Lloyd E. Squaer, treasurer.

Oregon: The KLAMATH branch raised 207.50 on its Freedom Seals quota of $150. The Freedom Seals committee consisted of Mrs. Elsa Gippo, chairwoman; Kenneth Lambie, co-chairman; Mrs. Ann Barnett, branch secretary; Mrs. Wm. G. Simon, treasurer; Wm. Barnett, president, Mrs. Muriel Colley, former president; Mrs. Leola Price, Mrs. Winifred Lambie, and Mrs. Ben Peters.

Tennessee: The CLARKSVILLE branch recently reported $50 in its Fight for Freedom drive.

Wisconsin: Aldermanic candidates from the second, sixth, and thirteenth wards were speakers at the February 12 meeting of the MILWAUKEE branch. They gave their views on public housing and their willingness to support effective municipal legislation banning discrimination in housing and employment.

Sugar Ray Studio

MRS. JOSEPHINE KING, *president of the Omicron Sigma chapter of the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc., is presenting a check for* $100 *on an NAACP Life Membership for her chapter to Dr. T. Oscar Chappelle, minister of the Morning Star Baptist church of Tulsa, Oklahoma, who made the financial appeal after an address by Dr. T. R. M. Howard. V. H. Hodge is Tulsa branch president.*

Gaston Devigne

HOWARD D. PINDELL, *an evening division instructor at the William Penn Business Institute, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, aided in the revision of the latest edition of* Practical Business Psychology *(McGraw Hill).*

College and School News

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Fourth joint meeting of the SOCIETY FOR THE PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY OF SOCIAL ISSUES was held in the Hotel Martinique, New York City, March 2-3. The first session on "Current Developments in Public School Desegregation was co-sponsored by the NAACP.

■

Charles Flint Kellogg, associate professor of history at DICKINSON COLLEGE (Carlisle, Pennsylvania), has been awarded a grant-in-aid by the Fund for the Republic, Inc., to complete a study of the origin and development of the NAACP. At Dickinson, Professor Kellogg has been a class dean and an academic counselor to students and has served on the policy committee of the college and the board of deans. He has been president of the Dickinson chapter of the American Association of University Professors and of the Carlisle Intercultural Council.

The Fund grant enables Professor Kellogg to take a leave of absence, which the college has granted him, for the 1956-57 academic year so that he may devote full time to research, writing, and necessary travel. Professor Kellogg is a graduate of Bard College and has a master's degree from Harvard.

■

Howard D. Pindell, an evening division instructor at WILLIAM PENN BUSINESS INSTITUTE (Philadelphia), aided in revising the latest edition of *Practical Business Psychology*, published by McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York City.

■

A student chapter of the Music Educators National Conference has been organized at Johnson C. Smith University. The new organization has been designated as chapter number 240. C. W. Kemp, head of the department of music, is faculty advisor.

Annual spiritual emphasis week at the university was conducted, February 29-March 4, by the Rev. Julius T. Douglas, pastor of the St. James Presbyterian church, Greensboro, North Carolina.

■

Dr. Wilson E. Williams, professor of economics at Virginia State College, has been granted a six-month leave of absence to accept a position as employment information expert for the International Labor Office. Dr. Williams' assignment will be in San José, Costa Rica, where he will assist the government of Costa Rica to integrate its employment service in its ministry of labor.

Curtis C. Duke, assistant professor of accounting at VSC, has become the first Negro to qualify as a certified public accountant in Virginia.

Virginia State observed the 74th anniversary of its founding on

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March 4, with Dr. Howard Thurman, dean of Marsh Chapel and professor of spiritual resources and disciplines at Boston University, delivering the founders' day sermon.

■

The Lincoln University (Mo.) department of journalism honored three weekly newspaper executives at its eighth Headliner Week banquet on April 18. The men were William O. Walker, editor, *Cleveland Call and Post;* Irving A. Williamson, advertising manager, *St. Louis Argus;* and Frank L. Stanley, editor-publisher, *Louisville Defender*. Mr. Stanley delivered the banquet address and Mr. Walker served as toastmaster.

The Lincoln history department sponsored the university's annual history week convocation on January 11, with a discussion of *The African Giant Reawakens* by Dr. Vernelle Oliver, Ohio Central State college professor of history.

■

The George Washington Carver Foundation (Tuskegee Institute, Alabama) is offering graduate fellowships in chemistry, foods and nutrition, agronomy, and poultry science.

■

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Mayor Robert Wagner served as chairmen of the honorary committee for a free symphony concert in observance of Negro History Week presented by Local 802, American Federation of Musicians, at Hunter college auditorium on February 16. Soloists for the musical portion of the program were Allen Brown, pianist;

Lawrence Winters, baritone; with Leon Barzin as conductor of the orchestra.

■

American Negroes want integration in education because "We are morally obligated to oppose the misguided efforts of the South to bring American leadership into disrepute by its insistence upon segregation," said Dr. Arthur D. Gray, president of TALLADEGA COLLEGE, in addressing the Midwinter Meeting of the Congregational Christian Churches at Buck Hill Falls, Pennsylvania.

■

Dr. Harry V. Richardson, president of Gammon Technological Seminary, was guest minister at the DILLARD UNIVERSITY vesper service on February 5.

■

Dr. Charles H. Wesley, who heads the Inter-University Council of Ohio, has asked State Capital Improvements for a long range building fund for CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE, of which Dr. Wesley is president. He is asking for building funds totalling $140,000,000.

"Episodes From History," presented by the political science and history department, was one of the features of Negro History Week observance at CSC. The drama department, L. C. Archer director, prepared an exhibit depicting "The Negro in Ancient Ethiopian and Egyptian History."

■

"Negro students must be prepared to compete with white students on the basis of ability and training," declared Dr. F. D. Patterson, president

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of the United Negro College Fund, in an address to the National Council of the UNCF Alumni at their recent annual conference.

Dr. Patterson addressed a hundred and fifty delegates attending the tenth annual conference of the National Council of UNCF Alumni held in Philadelphia, February 11-12. The delegates represented 100,000 graduates and former students of the thirty-one member colleges of the UNCF.

■

The Metropolitan Music School (New York City) gave a concert on February 19 in observance of Negro History Week, with Enid Dale, pianist, and Carl White, baritone, as soloists.

■

The American Museum of Natural History gave a course in February called "The Leisure Hours of Man in Remote Regions of the World." The course explored the manner in which the people of Asia, Africa, and the Arctic spend their leisure time with music, dance, ceremonies, and drama. Pearl Primus, one of the dancers, demonstrated dancers in Africa.

The last life mask of Abraham Lincoln, cast two months before his assassination, went on view at the AMNH on February 11. On or about February 12, 1865, Lincoln's fifty-sixth birthday, the sculptor Clark Mills modeled a life mask on Lincoln's that proved to be the last ever made. The mask on exhibition is the only metal cast made from Mills' mold and is thought to be one of this country's earliest bronzes.

■

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SHAW UNIVERSITY presented Evangeline Forbes, lyric soprano and sophomore, in a musical interlude on February 10 in Greenleaf Auditorium.

■

President Millicent C. McIntosh of Barnard college, was the first in a series of speakers when SPELMAN COLLEGE began celebration of its 75th anniversary on February 22. The program developed the theme, "Role of the Woman's College in Modern Education."

■

Dr. Clarence Faust, president of the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Advancement of Education, was principal speaker at MOREHOUSE COLLEGE's 89th anniversary banquet in February.

■

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY has received a grant of $8,250 from the Rockefeller Foundation for the year 1956-57 to be used by Dr. Rushton Coulborn, chairman of the department of history, for study and travel in connection with Dr. Coulborn's research on the function of religion in history.

Dr. Coulborn had his book, *Feudalism in History*, published by the Princeton university press in February.

April 1-29 has been announced by the university as the dates for the 15th annual exhibition of paintings, sculpture, and prints by Negro artists. Eleven purchase awards amounting to $1,400 are offered.

The university commemorated the 31st annual Negro History Week with an address by Dr. Rufus Clement on the subject, "The Nation in Transition."

Annual senior-day program was observed by the university on February 21, with participating seniors coming from Clark, Morehouse, Morris Brown, and Spelman.

■

His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman will deliver the baccalaureate address at SAINT MARY'S COLLEGE (Notre Dame, Indiana) on May 26. The baccalaureate mass will be celebrated in the Church of Loreto which is now in the finishing stages of being remodeled.

■

Dr. Carl B. Swisher, chairman of the political science department at Johns Hopkins university, was principal speaker at induction exercises of the new MORGAN COLLEGE chapter of Pi Gamma Mu, national social science honor society. Twenty-one students and teachers became charter members of the seventh scholastic society to be established on the Morgan campus.

Robert J. Wilson, Morgan senior, has been invited by the French government to sing in F. A. Gevert's opera, *De Lulli,* in Paris, France, this coming August.

Four new teachers have been appointed to the Morgan faculty: Dr. Ya-Lun, lecturer in economics and business; Dr. Leonea B. Dudley, temporary lecturer in English; Annabel Hawkins, assistant in English; and Sherman Merrill, substitute instructor in history and political science.

Book Reviews

BOOKS ON AFRICA

***Baba of Karo: A Woman of the Muslim Hausa.* By Mary Smith. New York: Philosophical Library, 1955. 299 pp. $7.50.**

***An Introduction to the History of West Africa.* By J. D. Fage. London: Cambridge University Press, 1955. XI+209 pp. $2.50.**

***Episode in the Transvaal.* A novel by Harry Bloom. Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1955. 295 pp. $3.95.**

***They Wait in Darkness.* By George W. Shepherd, Jr. New York: The John Day Co., 1955. IX+308 pp. $4.00.**

***The African Awakening.* By Basil Davidson New York: The Macmillan Co., 1955. 258 pp. $2.50.**

Here are five books about what *Look* magazine calls "the world's most explosive continent," Africa, and each of them in one way or another helps us to understand the reasoning behind this assertion. The detailed personal narrative of *Baba of Karo* presents the intimate minutiae of a Hausa woman who lived in the Nigerian states of Kano and Zaria from her birth in 1890 until her death in 1951. It is personal history with a cultural touch written in a tedious and dull verbatim style that contains much information about life among these Moslem Africans. Here one learns about birth, childhood, marriage, life in a polygynous household, physical and verbal family conflicts, formal friendships, slavery, as well as the marital love life of four-times-wed Baba. The material is descriptive and suffers from defects expected in traditional history—one must accept much of it on faith. However, the introduction, written by the author's husband, is well done and useful in providing a foundation on which to labor through the chapters of dry details. Its value is further enhanced through the addition of a glossary of Hausa terms, explanatory notes, and an index.

A more formal type of history is recorded as J. D. Fage gives us *An Introduction to the History of West Africa*. Sweeping across the territorial swath that is bounded by the Atlantic Ocean in the west and south, the Sahara desert in the north, and the eastern boundary of Nigeria, this little book takes us from earliest times to the present as its nine chapters encompass the area and its people, old empires of the Western Sudan, the coming of the Europeans, early competition for trade among them, slave trading and the campaign against it, nineteenth century operations of the British, the European scramble for colonies and their administration both past and present. As a digested historical survey the book is a handy one to have, but some may not like the emphasis placed on the "colonial" side. In addition, when Professor Fage refers to "the white peoples of North Africa" he confuses his audience since he speaks out of the contemporary context of race, which is currently defined on the basis of color, not physical anthropology, as the present treatment of North Africans certainly attests. Although this usage is misleading, it is only minor and does not detract from what is really a useful volume. Its value is increased by its postwar picture of West African history, an appendix showing economic development through 1950, a list of maps, a concise bibliography, and an index.

Episode in the Transvaal leaves West Africa behind and moves far southward to the Union of South Africa where racism is running rampant. This is fictional literature of the rawness of racial realism pervaded by psychological overtones that center around activity in a Bantu "location" and paints in bold emotional hues a picture of daily life in one of these internationally known black slums. Revealing a grasp of character understanding in an analysis of major roles ably acted by the white South African location manager, Hendrik DuToit, and the rising Bantu intelligent leadership, exhibited by Walter Mabaso, the author develops his story with skill and insight to a bloody, riotous climax that enables the reader to empathize in the hopelessness of a dehumanized people at the mercy of ignorant, guilt-ridden, fear-caught whites whose inward sense of shame, inadequacy, and insecurity cause them to be as brutal as possible to defenseless human beings who, almost totally deprived of all rights, human dignity, and liberty, live amidst some of the filthiest physical and spiritual squalor to be found on earth. Although permeated by the brooding overcast of racism, Mr. Bloom has welded the story together in a smoothly flowing style through sketches of humor in the midst of poverty and misery, dreamy hopes of the Bantu for a better time to come, stereotypes of various South African peoples, the infamous apartheid program, the pass laws, the police mind, and sundry character types which reflect what life under conditions now prevailing in the Strijdom-stronghold can do to the human personality. The book is marred by numerous typographical errors, but these technical defects are almost unnoticed in the midst of the author's ability to present fact in fiction form with a deep sense of justice, objectivity, and feeling.

The scene now shifts northward to the British protectorate of Uganda where the indigenous people, who although *They Wait in Darkness* for the coming of independence and a better standard of living, do so with far more hope of success than the Transvaal Bantu. George Shepherd, Jr., a Quaker by faith, who spent two years working with the Federation of Uganda African Farmers, records in plain and simple language some of the problems involved in such an undertaking, as well as sidelights on personal practices of Ugandan life and insights into the Mau Mau complex of neighboring Kenya. The lack of knowledge of economics, the need for dependable and reliable leadership among the farmers, the necessity for cohesion among the various Ugan peoples, Indians, and whites, the difficulties of communication and transportation, the obstacles arising from the "colonial mind" and white supremacy attitudes are the sort of things one finds in this volume, as well as information about the rising youthful intelligentsia, the coming local and regional leadership that understands the need for political action, the more progressive type of colonial official, and the place and role of Mutesa II, the Kabaka of Buganda, who was exiled during the author's sojourn but who returned in October, 1955, amidst a blaze of glory. On the whole this is a good book about this East African possession, and though the author seems a bit naive at times in his comments about certain aspects of life in general and Ugandan affairs in particular, yet he has told of his experiences in a manner that sheds light on what is happening in Uganda that is helping it to emerge from its underdeveloped condition.

This emergence from backwardness is strikingly set forth by Basil Davidson as he lets us hear the rumbles of *The African Awakening* today from his centuries of enforced slumber. Here this skilled observer of the African scene objectively reports about the urban industrial revolution that has overtaken Africa, detailing expertly how tribalism is dying out, village life disintegrating, and how the African has come to evaluate the power of "the white man's god," money. With a keen and sharp eye Davidson exposes the effects of Belgian paternalism as regards education, citizenship, politics, social life, and religion, as well as the backward policy and slave practices yet to be found in adjoining and poorly administered Portuguese Angola. The rise of nationalism is well set forth and we find the awakening African is now quite alert to what has been done to him and is on the road to changing long hampering conditions to satisfy *his* needs and desires, rather than those who ruled and exploited him for generations. Mr. Davidson's book is about the best of its kind to be found on current conditions in the Belgian Congo and Angola and it adds to its significance through inclusion of population statistics for people south of the Sahara, selected reference notes that contain good bibliographical data, and an index. The work is a fitting climax to all the volumes reviewed here, bringing to a denouement the main currents of each that vividly clarify and lend force to the statement that Africa is potentially "the world's most explosive continent."

HUGH H. SMYTHE

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HARLEM TWENTIES

Carl Van Vechten and the Twenties. **By Edward Lueders. Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1955. 150 pp. $4.50.**

At 76, Carl Van Vechten has fortunately lived to reap some measure of reward in the form of tributes for a lifetime spent in open-hearted recognition of fledgling artists of whatever bent. His mother before him was a champion of issues now long since won and taken for granted—women's suffrage and community cultural services. His father, a first subscriber to the *Atlantic Monthly,* had a hand in founding a school for Negroes which still stands at Piney Woods, Mississippi.

Van Vechten's native home, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, is now significant to him mainly as his birthplace: the City of New York, which has served so well his many interests, in 1955 symbolized its permanent claim to him through a grand exhibition of his life and works in its largest library. A faddist par excellence who might just as easily have been Carl Akeley, his quest of the odd and unusual, though it has spread him thin, has nevertheless made him the kind of sophisticated cosmopolite who probably best epitomizes the subtle essence of the New Yorker spirit.

It is fitting therefore that Mr. Lueders' profile should be as much around and about Mr. Van Vechten as on him. It places him rightly in the climate of his times, the Twenties—when Eugene O'Neill was writing freakish farces about Negroes which still pass in some circles as serious drama. And Van Vechten has been as accurate in self-appraisal as has Mr. Lueders' estimate. He admitted in *Peter Whiffle* (1922), his autobiographical novel, that his true role is to feed by appreciative critism the creative talents of others. Hence in

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music, literature, art and photography, his has been the pivotal position between promising artists and publishers, etc. And it was typical that after contributing a volume on cats (*The Tiger in the House,* 1920) which still stands as an authoritative source and his most solid literary performance, he should eventually end his ties with them. Of him it would have been odd had he not become the advocate of Gertrude Stein, whose work he is now editing.

The novel *Nigger Heaven* (1926), which stirred a controversy and started what is called "The Van Vechten Vogue," internationalized his reputation. One must approach it with the understanding that he looked to the arts and to Harlem for that animation which he sought in life. Dr. Hugh M. Gloster, chairman of the English department at Hampton Institute and one of Oscar Cargill's ablest proteges, pointed out (in *Phylon,* Vol. VI, No. 4, Fourth Quarter, 1945) the mixed blessing of *Nigger Heaven* just a decade ago:

> Being primarily a fad, the Van Vechten Vogue was doomed to fall before the next violent shock or the next new rage. . . .
>
> The fatal mistake of the Van Vechten school was to make a fetish of sex and the cabaret rather than to give a faithful, realistic presentation and interpretation of Harlem life. In spite of this error, however, the Van Vechtenites helped to break away from the taboos and stereotypes of earlier years, to make self-revelation and self-criticism more important considerations in fiction by Negroes, and to demonstrate to publishers and readers that Negro authors have an important contribution to make to the nation's cultural life.

Carl Van Vechten himself admitted this estimate to be fair.

HENRY F. WINSLOW

A NOVEL

The Changelings. A novel by Jo Sinclair. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1955. 323 pp. $3.75.

Jo Sinclair's *The Changelings* is on one level an analysis of the forces of fear stemming from social instability as these affect the lives of minority groups in an urban community. The situation which touches off the action of the story is the true-to-life housing shortage among Negroes, and Miss Sinclair makes the most of it to read with penetration the hearts of her characters, most of whom are Jewish and Italian.

The heart she explores most thoroughly is that of 12-year-old Judith Vincent, whose omnipresence is such that she might well have been cast in the role of narrator. Judy is stripped of command of her gang that "snitches" things from neighborhood stores, but the gang wasn't really of the tough type anyhow. Nobody wanted it; in fact, what the teen-agers portrayed in this narrative really want is a more adequate facing up to life on the part of their parents. This, in essence, is the crux of Miss Sinclair's carefully detailed, finely woven novel: the confusing, killing effect of parental fears and prejudices on youth—and thus on life itself.

It is put succinctly in a poem

> "'Come, Changeling, let us look into our hearts for identity!
>
> . . . though they feed us with bread made of their fears and ignorance,
>
> We will take the big footsteps of faith, . . .'"

The heart which takes giant steps in this direction is the ailing one of Jules Golden. His life hangs on a poetic, but intensely realistic thread at once linking him to his mother and the tired and homeless "Black Ones" who creep from their miserable slums seeking rooms and apartments. Chief among the latter in Clara Jackson, who comes armed with a knife, but disarmed with a tender, hungry heart. Or there is Santina, whose ever-ready response to physical love brings all the fears her community is heir to into sharpest focus.

Even in the clearly interpreted Miller family there are the estranged hearts of father and son; in the mother, the forgiving heart of love; in the daughter Ruth, the reticent heart reaching for higher things than Chip's long-suffering adoration. Then, there are the unsettled hearts of "transplated men who had never become accustomed to a new soil," and particularly to its "habits." And there is finally—in this novel which traces the psychology of fear to its origin—the heart that understands truth. Hear Jules to his bewildered mother:

> "'Ma, this whole *Schwartze* business. . . . It's only a match—to start the real fire in people. Their real fight is with themselves in life. Ma, the big fire that makes you sweat, and change — for better or worse. Either you burn up or you come through — pure, good. Ma, I want you good.'"

Jo Sinclair has a knack of stripping the hard shell off human character to lay bare the soft soul, and there are times when her prose becomes the literature of power.

HENRY F. WINSLOW

BRAZILIAN MASTERPIECE

***The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization*. By Gilberto Freyre. Translated from the Portuguese by Samuel Putnam. Second English-Language Edition, Revised. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956. LXXI+537 +XLIV pp. $8.50.**

It is disingenuous to call this second English-language edition of *The Masters and the Slaves* "revised," if by revised the publishers mean a revision of the text. The revision is in the preface. Freyre has compressed the five prefaces of the first English-language edition into one and added some additional introductory paragraphs. This is the extent of the revision: text pagination in the two editions is identical, even to the errors, with those of the first edition.

I notice, for example, that *pela neve mole de Brooklyn* is translated as "crossing Brooklyn Bridge" (p. XXVI); that *criterio da pureza da fé* is "criterion of faith' (p. 193); that *negreiros imundos, da Africa para o Brazil* is "filthy slave ships" (p. 322); that *excreto das glândulas de Bartholin* becomes "menstrual mucus excreted by Bartholin's glands (p. 336); and so on.

Freyre's comments on Putnam's English version of *Casa-Grande & Senzala* are interesting. In a short piece on "Translations" (*Diário de Noticías*, December 7, 1947) he begins by commenting on the difficulties of translation and then points out the differences between the vocabularies of Portuguese and English. The basic Portuguese vocabulary is Latin; the basic English vocabulary, Anglo-Saxon, with a large Latin element. Therefore Latin-derived words form the basis of the everyday Portuguese vocabulary without sounding stiff, learned or formal. With English it is just the opposite: our everyday words are short, simple; derived from Anglo-Saxon, whereas our formal and more academic vocabulary is derived from the Latin element. Now Freyre's style and word choice in the *Casa-Grande* is colloquial and informal; exactly the opposite of the academic. We shall let Freyre himself tell what happens to this Brazilian dress when cut to the American pattern:

". . . It seems that in this respect [translating Casa-Grande] the translator has involuntarily altered the original configuration of the essay, giving the author a formal and learned, rather than an informal and colloquial, vocabulary that is more inclined to the academic than the unacademic."

But, adds Freyre:

"The recent translation into English of my essay *Casa-Grande & Senzala,* by Mr. Samuel Putnam, is a well-nigh insuperable task. Some people tell me that Mr. Putnam did a splendid job; others, that he didn't; that the book has this or that serious defect. I don't imagine it to be perfect, but I am inclined to believe that its virtues outweigh its faults. Mr. Putnam is an admirable translator from the Portuguese into the English. . . ."

Since *The Masters and the Slaves* has already been reviewed twice in *The Crisis* (*Casa-Grande & Senzala,* 3rd edition, May 1941, at page 160; first English-language edition, December 1946, at page 365), I shall refer very briefly to the present edition.

Many people know that Brazil, in contrast to the United States, has an ethnic democracy: less racial prejudice than the States, and a higher degree of racial amalgamation. But usually they do not know why this is so. *The Masters and the Slaves* supplies the answer. The colonizing Portuguese never had any rigid, inflexible racial standards, nor did they claim to be members of a pure race. What they emphasized always was community of culture, and persons of the most divergent racial origins could, and did, become members of the Luso-Brazilian family. This is why jim crowism, with all that it implies, never took root in Brazil. There is and never has been any racist legislation in Brazil: no segregation or jim-crow laws, no legal disfranchisement, no laws against intermarriage, etc.

Brazil, of course, does have a certain amount of racial prejudice and discrimination, but because of the nuances it takes the visitor time to explore its intricacies and real meaning. It has increased in recent years in the cities where the new Negro urban proletariat finds itself in competition with recent arrivals from the country and Europe. Even this increasing racial tension, however, has not given Brazil a race question as such.

Anyone who wants to understand present-day Brazil will have to read this brilliant, interpretation of her history and racial traditions by one of her greatest and most influential writers and thinkers. Maybe some day the sequel (*Sobrados e Mucambos,* Town Houses and Slums) to *The Masters and the Slaves* will appear in English dress.

WALDO IVY

ON CENSORSHIP

***The Right to Read: The Battle Against Censorship.* By Paul Blanchard. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1955. 339 pp. $3.50.**

The case for a free press versus censorship, argued seriously, turns on whether the baby may be thrown out with the bath, and generally on whether a vocal minority, of whatever political or moral persuasion, may order intellectual life for others according to *its* terms. Paul Blanchard's *The Right to Read* winnows both sides of the knotty question of literary censorship down to one clear call for the open book, a prerequisite in an open society. Mr. Blanchard knows what too few men of our time bother to find out: that "intellectual freedom does not maintain itself automatically even in an open society." Thus at best freedom is the kind of boat which must ever be rocked lest it settle down and sink.

In a book remarkable for its sober wisdom the author reminds us that "the world has been cursed with literary executioners for as long as it has been blessed by the written word," and that though "The actors change from generation to generation; the motives for suppression and control are essentially the same. The ruling segment in any society wishes to protect its own values, . . ." Against this perennial tendency, he points out that American literary freedom is sustained by the right of jury trial. Every one of twelve men must rule against a book before it can be banned. He finds that too often anti-intellectualism is tied in with anti-Communism and/or anti-comic-book drives.

Like other rights, the right to read may be undermined by the quality of its matter, or even crippled by a dearth of economic and social conditions which make for free reading. Mr. Blanchard points out that our "sex-obsessed periodicals are a cultural disaster" in that they "crowd the literature of intelligence from our newsstands and replace it with moronic filth." This displacement he finds more serious than their actual obscenity. At the same time he admits that "the resort to literature for vicarious sex experience is one of the most universal of human traits." We are a nation capable of outlawing prostitution as such and putting literary whores like Robert Penn Warren's Aramantha Starr and Kathleen Winsor's Amber on the best-seller lists. Since 1890 we have shifted "the frontier of decency" from the female leg to her breast in a two-handed approach. We now read freely and widely in the areas of sex education, birth control and venereal disease.

Mr. Blanchard calls attention to the fact that "Much of the literature of the South is still deliberately censored and shaded in behalf of white supremacy," and that in general, such textbooks when approved for use in southern schools are designed to perpetuate jim crow. There exists one organization of national scope which issues monthly blacklists and white lists of books, the National Organization of Decent Literature of Chicago. A Roman Catholic organization, it limits itself to pocket-size reading matter. Mr. Blanchard charges that this agency "is totally undemocratic in its method of government, and entirely denominational in its authority." Another type of censorship he warns against stems from the new group of government public relations men who may be employed to shield men in high office from criticism.

Public opinion sometimes has the effect of curtailing the right to read such matter as pro-Communist publications. Presses have their reputations to protect, and the Communists themselves have a record for hypocrisy which has earned them contempt. In the troubled area of race relations there is an aspect of censorship which Mr. Blanchard does not touch; the censorship of omission and denial. The widely syndicated book reviewer Sterling North attacked Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* (a book which transcended mumbo-jumbo) as a "literary race riot" because it carries the account of an affair between a Negro man and a white woman. The same reviewer had nothing but praise for Robert Penn Warren's *Band of Angels*, which renders an account of a similar affair between a white man and a mulatto girl. The sex content is essentially the same in each instance.

The Right to Read is roughly a record of progress, and the present state of our literary freedom is such that we should feel "cautiously cheerful." America is blessed with a "diversity of standards," and even more with the fact that no "literary or clerical caste" is looked upon as being especially fit to censor. Mr. Blanchard's book is commendable both for what it sets out to do and what it accomplishes.

HENRY F. WINSLOW

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INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA

(*Continued from page* 217)

seem to indicate that it is perhaps twice that of either European or African. The European does not trust the Indian. The European may be jealous and resentful of the financial success of the Indian. The Indian says the British have color prejudice and that it is not a cultural bar as the British would have one believe, since Indians are not admitted to British clubs regardless. In 1908 Lord Elgin declared that "while legal restrictions should not be placed on any section of the community, as a matter of administrative convenience grants of land in the uplands should not be made to Asiatics." From 1912 on there were convenants reserving certain areas of residential land in towns for Europeans. The Crown Lands Ordinance of 1915 did not forbid Indians from acquiring land, but transfer of land between persons of different races required government sanction. All over East Africa one sees signs in public places: *European, Asiatic, African.* On the trains and in public buildings toilets are marked: *European* and *non-European type.*

The educated African complains that the Indian occupies the positions and occupations he would otherwise have in a colonial society. Africans in general complain that the Indian cheats and exploits them. As more and more Africans become educated and demand ever increasing opportunities to participate in the control of their own affairs the tendency may be for Indo-African relations to deteriorate.

DESEGREGATION & TENSION

(*Continued from page* 201)

advance has had to be fought for; almost nothing has been voluntarily given. We won what we now have; the South gave none of the major items in good will and fairness. And what do we ask when we say the time is here? We ask the acknowledgment of our status as citizens. We ask the rights and privileges and responsibilities of citizenship. We ask equality with other citizens under the law.

DESEGREGATION PROBLEM

The school desegregation problem can be solved if the South will begin by recognizing Negro citizenship—unreserved citizenship. This is the first requisite. From that point plans can be made for a "good faith" beginning on desegregation. Negro citizens will meet any such beginning more than half way, with understanding and good will.

Nothing stands in the way of the easing of tensions except the flat refusal of Southern Whites to make a start. Surely, Negroes cannot be expected to bargain when they are presented with nothing but a "never, never" proposition to bargain over; and when they refrain from discussion on such a basis, they surely cannot be accused fairly of creating or maintaining tension.

In 1857—99 years ago—the Supreme Court declared a Negro had no rights which a white man was bound to respect. That decision was reversed by the Civil War, yet today many whites are following the Dred Scott decision and ignoring all that has happened since. The present situation is squarely in the hands of the leaders of opinion in the South. Condemnation of the NAACP is a smokescreen. A plea for understanding based on considerations of timing is understandable; a plea for understanding based on defiance of constitutional government is a plea for anarchy and secession.

The white people of the South must face up to the basic questions of law and citizenship under law. I, for one, do not for a minute underestimate the difficulties, real or imagined, which confront them in their soul-searching. But in every question there are right and wrong sides, profitable ones and unprofitable ones, comfortable ones and uncomfortable ones, easy and difficult ones.

The choice for them is not easy, but it must be made. Our people and our Association stand ready, as always, to help them arrive at a just decision.

It is long past time to begin.

◆

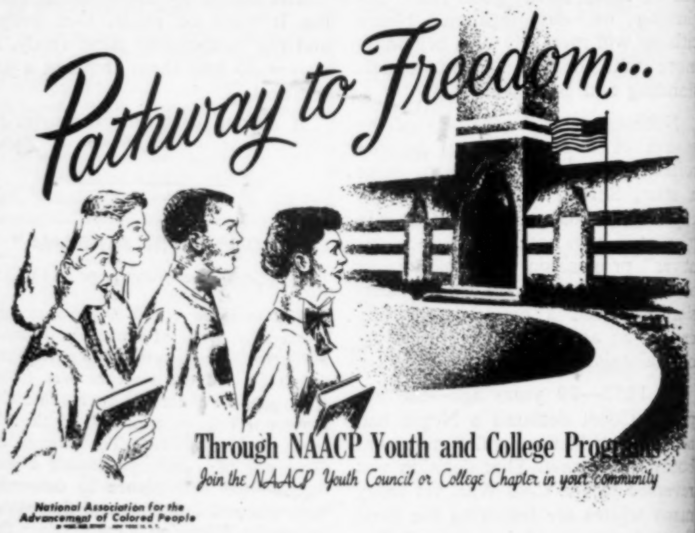
"VIOLENCE IN ALABAMA"

(*Continued from page* 211)

The violence could have been suppressed by order of Governor Folsom. He gave no such order. No action sufficient to end the violence was taken. It is possible therefore to assume that Governor Folsom approved of the violence and its result. To witness the Governor of a state permitting a mob through use of violence to determine who can and cannot attend that state's university, following a court order that the student be permitted to attend and the university's acceptance of that order, is something difficult to believe. Yet that is what has happened. . . .

We conclude with these paragraphs from the St. Louis, Missouri, *Globe-Democrat:*

> In the north and western areas of the country, folk do not understand the intense rebellion of the Deep South at desegregation. It is a tap-rooted combination of generations of racial bias, plus the fact that Negroes are numerically not a minority in many parts of the South. It is far from easy to eradicate this antipathy by a single court order.
>
> Yet it must be done and it shall be done. There is no justification morally or under democratic principles for segregation, for prejudice under law, against any race or creed or minority. . . .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